VOLUME 399 JANUARY 1972

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy *of* Political
and Social Science

RICHARD D. LAMBERT, *Editor*
ALAN W. HESTON, *Assistant Editor*

THE NATION'S HEALTH: SOME ISSUES

Special Editors of This Volume

SYLVESTER E. BERKI
Dept. of Medical Care Organization
School of Public Health
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

ALAN W. HESTON
Department of Economics
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA

© 1972, by THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 77-186411

The articles appearing in THE ANNALS are indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, the *Book Review Index*, the *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin*, and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences*. They are also abstracted and indexed in *ABC Pol Sci*, *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604. Cost per year $12.00 paper-bound; $16.00 clothbound. Second-class postage paid at Lancaster and at additional mailing offices.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION . . . . . *Sylvester E. Berki* and *Alan W. Heston* ix

MEDICINE: THE POOR, THE SICK, THE STUDENT

HUMAN PROBLEMS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH CARE . . . . . *David Mechanic* 1

THE POOR: THEIR MEDICAL NEEDS AND THE HEALTH SERVICES SUPPLIED THEM . . . . . *Mary W. Herman* 12

THE ECONOMICS OF HEALTH SERVICES FOR THE POOR . . . . . *Irving Leveson* 22

SOME MEDICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE TREATMENT FOR GENETIC-METABOLIC DISEASES . . . . . *Roger E. Stevenson* and *R. Rodney Howell* 30

THE MEDICAL SCHOOL: ITS PRODUCTS AND ITS PROBLEMS . . . . . *Cecil G. Sheps* and *Conrad Seipp* 38

HOSPITAL AND PHYSICIAN COSTS AND CHARGES

COSTS AND QUALITY OF CARE IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOSPITALS . . . . . *Duncan Neuhauser* and *Fernand Turcotte* 50

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE INCREASING COST OF HOSPITAL CARE . . . . . *Ronald Andersen* and *J. Joel May* 62

UNITED STATES HOSPITAL COSTS IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE . . . . . *Theodore E. Chester* 73

THE PHYSICIAN "SHORTAGE": THE ECONOMISTS' MIRROR . . . . . *Michael Lynch* 82

THE EXPERIENCE WITH MEDICAL PROVISION AND INSURANCE PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF HEALTH SERVICE . . . . . *Robert N. Grosse* 89

THE IMPACT OF PREPAID GROUP PRACTICE ON AMERICAN MEDICAL CARE: A CRITICAL EVALUATION . . . . . *Merwyn R. Greenlick* 100

MEDICARE AND MEDICAID . . . . . *Howard N. Newman* 114

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE: AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME? . . . . . *Sylvester E. Berki* 125

WHO GAINS FROM PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMS? . . . . . *Bruce C. Stuart* 145

PROBLEMS OF HEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES IN PERSPECTIVE

ISSUES OF THE FUTURE IN HEALTH . . . . . *William L. Kissick* and *Samuel P. Martin* 151

THE NATION'S HEALTH: ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE . . . . . *Anne R. Somers* 160

BOOK DEPARTMENT 175

INDEX 263

BOOK DEPARTMENT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BOZEMAN, ADDA B. *The Future of Law in a Multicultural World.* Young W. Kihl 175

CASTAÑEDA, JORGE. *Legal Effects of United Nations Resolutions.* George A. Codding, Jr. 176

D'AMATO, ANTHONY A. *The Concept of Custom in International Law.* George G. Fenwick 177

FALK, RICHARD A., and CYRIL E. BLACK, eds. *The Future of the International Legal Order.* Vol. 2: Wealth and Resources. Leland M. Goodrich 177

HOWE, JONATHAN TRUMBULL. *Multicrises: Sea Power and Global Politics.* George H. Quester 178

IKLÉ, FRED CHARLES. *Every War Must End.* Edgar M. Bottome 179

STACKHOUSE, MAX L. *The Ethics of Necropolis.* Edgar M. Bottome 179

LICHTHEIM, GEORGE. *Imperialism.* Morris David Morris 180

MCSHERRY, JAMES E. *Khrushchev and Kennedy in Retrospect.* Andrew Gyorgy .. 181

THOMAS, ANN VAN WYNEN, and A. J. THOMAS, JR. *Legal Limits on the Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons.* Robert R. Wilson 182

AFRICA AND ASIA

BOORMAN, HOWARD L., ed., in association with RICHARD C. HOWARD. *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China.* Vols. 1–4. W. Allyn Rickett 183

BROWN, DORRIS D. *Agricultural Development in India's Districts.* Stanley J. Heginbotham 185

DANN, URIEL. *Iraq under Qassem: A Political History, 1958–1963.* Paul L. Beckett 186

KHADDURI, MAJID. *Republican Iraq: A Study in Iraqi Politics since the Revolution of 1958.* Paul L. Beckett 186

HACKETT, ROGER F. *Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838–1922.* J. Kenneth McDonald 187

HAITHCOX, JOHN PATRICK. *Communism and Nationalism in India: M. N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920–1939.* Paul Wallace 188

HOSMER, STEPHEN T. *Viet Cong Repression and Its Implications for the Future.* Charles A. Joiner 190

PIKE, DOUGLAS. *War, Peace, and the Viet Cong.* Charles A. Joiner 190

PAGE

PELT, ADRIAN. Forward to *Libyan Independence and the United Nations: A Case of Planned Decolonization*, by U. Thant. Ira William Zartman 191

WYON, JOHN B. and JOHN E. GORDON. *The Khanna Study: Population Problems in the Rural Punjab*. Narindar Uberoi Kelly 192

CANADA AND LATIN AMERICA

HALEY, P. EDWARD. *Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico, 1910–1917*. Marvin Alisky 193

MALLORY, J. R. *The Structure of Canadian Government*. W. L. Morton 194

SCHNEIDER, RONALD M. *The Political System of Brazil: Emergence of a "Modernizing" Authoritarian Regime, 1964–1970*. Erwina E. Godfrey 195

SEWELL, D. O. *Training the Poor: A Benefit-Cost Analysis of Manpower Programs in the U.S. Antipoverty Program*. Edward Prescott 196

STEPHENS, RICHARD H. *Wealth and Power in Peru*. Richard N. Adams 197

TULLIS, F. LAMOND. *Lord and Peasant in Peru: A Paradigm of Political and Social Change*. Richard N. Adams 197

TURNER, FREDERICK C. *Catholicism and Political Development in Latin America*. Arthur P. Whitaker 198

EUROPEAN HISTORY AND POLITICS

CLARKE, P. F. *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*. F. M. Leventhal 199

GILLIS, JOHN R. *The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis, 1840–1860: Origins of an Administrative Ethos*. Robert Schwarz 200

MAYER, ARNO J. *The Dynamics of Counterrevolution in Europe, 1870–1956: An Analytic Framework*. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. 201

WEIL, GORDON L. *A Foreign Policy for Europe?* Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. 201

SONNINO, PAUL. *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin by Louis XIV*. Benjamin R. Barber 203

TARLTON, CHARLES D. *Fortune's Circle: A Biographical Interpretation of Niccolo Machiavelli*. Benjamin R. Barber 203

STRAYER, JOSEPH R. *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays*, with a Forward by Gaines Post. Arthur R. Hogue 206

TOYNBEE, J. M. C. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. John L. Teall 206

GARNSEY, PETER. *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire*. John L. Teall 206

WILLIS, F. ROY. *Italy Chooses Europe*. Charles F. Delzell 208

UNITED STATES HISTORY AND POLITICS

PAGE

ALEXANDER, HERBERT E. *Financing the 1968 Election.* T. Phillip Wolf 209

BETH, LOREN P. *The Development of the American Constitution, 1877–1917.* Herman Belz 210

BOWLES, CHESTER. *Promises to Keep: My Years in Public Life, 1941–1969.* Norman D. Palmer 211

CAMPBELL, JOHN FRANKLIN. *The Foreign Affairs Fudge Factory.* Smith Simpson . 212

CHRISTIAN GEORGE. *The President Steps Down.* Peter Woll 214

HEREN, LOUIS. *No Hail, No Farewell.* Peter Woll 214

COLE, DONALD B. *Jacksonian Democracy in New Hampshire, 1800–1851.* Lynn L. Marshall 215

FONER, JACK D. *The United States Soldier between Two Wars: Army Life and Reforms, 1965–1898.* T. Harry Williams 216

GARDNER, FRED. *The Unlawful Concert: An Account of the Presidio Mutiny Case.* Gerald L. Sbarboro 217

GERHARDT, JAMES M. *The Draft and Public Policy: Issues in Military Manpower Procurement, 1945–1970.* Ora W. Eads, Jr. 218

MCKAY, ERNEST. *Henry Wilson, Practical Radical: A Portrait of a Politician.* Jack P. Maddex, Jr. 219

JORDAN, DAVID M. *Roscoe Conkling of New York: Voice in the Senate.* Jack P. Maddex, Jr. 219

MELTSNER, ARNOLD J. *The Politics of City Revenue.* Clara Penniman 220

MOHL, RAYMOND A. *Poverty in New York, 1783–1825.* John M. Tomsich 221

SAXTON, ALEXANDER. *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California.* Everett V. Stonequist 221

SORKIN, ALAN L. *American Indians and Federal Aid: Studies in Social Economics.* Angie Debo 222

STILL, WILLIAM N., JR. *Iron Afloat: The Story of the Confederate Armorclads.* Russell F. Weigley 223

STOURZH, GERALD. *Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government.* Howard A. Ohline 223

THEOHARIS, ATHAN. *Seeds of Repression: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of McCarthyism.* Jeffry M. Burnam 224

VALE, VIVIAN. *Labour in American Politics.* Adam C. Breckenridge 226

SOCIOLOGY

FOGELSON, ROBERT M. *Violence as Protest: A Study of Riots and Ghettos.* Leonard Berkowitz 227

GOTTFREID, DEITZE. *Youth University and Democracy.* Joseph Gusfield 228

PAGE

GLAZER, NATHAN. *Remembering the Answers: Essays on the American Student Revolt.* Joseph Gusfield 228

IORIZZO, LUCIANO J., and SALVATORE MONDELLO. *The Italian-Americans.* Samuel Barnes 230

LOWI, THEODORE J. *The Politics of Disorder.* Dale Pontius 230

MASON, PHILIP. *Race Relations.* Annemarie Shimony 231

MURPHY, ROBERT F. *The Dialectics of Social Life: Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory.* Dennis C. Sims 232

NELSEN, HART M., RATHA L. YOKLEY, and ANNE K. NELSEN, eds. *The Black Church in America.* Dewey D. Wallace, Jr. 233

PALOCZI-HORVATH, GEORGE. *Youth Up in Arms.* John Sirjamaki 234

FERBER, MICHAEL, and STAUGHTON LYND. *The Resistance.* John Sirjamaki 234

PEEL, J. D. Y. *Herbert Spencer: The Evolution of a Sociologist.* Robert Bierstedt 235

POSTON, RICHARD W. *The Gang and the Establishment: A Story of Conflict Rising out of the Federal and Private Financing of Urban Street Gangs.* Leonard Reissman 235

QUINNEY, RICHARD. *The Social Reality of Crime.* Edward Green 236

WILLMER, M. A. P. *Crime and Information Theory.* Edward Green 236

RIESMAN, DAVID, JOSEPH GUSFIELD, and ZELDA GAMSON. *Academic Values and Mass Education: The Early Years of Oakland and Monteith.* Nathan Glazer .. 238

SOMERS, ANNE R. *Health Care in Transition: Directions for the Future.* Edward S. Rogers 239

STEINER, GILBERT Y. *The State of Welfare.* David Marwick 240

WESTLEY, WILLIAM A. *Violence and the Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom, and Morality.* Alvin Boskoff 241

WILLIAMS, ROGER NEVILLE. Foreward to *The New Exiles: American War Resisters in Canada,* by William Sloane Coffin, Jr. Thomas Lee Hayes 242

ECONOMICS

CLARK, JOHN G. *New Orleans, 1718–1812: An Economic History.* Robert Sobel .. 243

COHEN, HENRY. *Business and Politics in America from the Age of Jackson to the Civil War: The Career Biography of W. W. Corcoran.* Ervin Miller 243

DE CAUX, LEN. *Labor Radical: From the Wobblies to CIO.* Jack Barbash 244

FRIEDMANN, W. G., and JOHN PIERRE BEGUIN. *International Business Ventures in Developing Countries.* Ashok Kapoor 245

PARRISH, MICHAEL E. *Securities Regulation and the New Deal.* Horace M. Gray 246

SCHULTZ, THEODORE W. *Investment in Human Capital.* T. J. Wales 247

PAGE

SCHURR, SAM H., PAUL T. HOMAN, et al. *Middle Eastern Oil and the Western World Prospects and Problems.* Rawle Farley 248

STEIN, BRUNO. *On Relief: The Economics of Poverty and Public Welfare.* Dale Rogers Marshall 249

THUROW, LESTER C. *The Impact of Taxes on the American Economy.* M. Bronfenbrenner 250

VANEK, JAROSLAV. *The Participatory Economy: An Evolutionary Hypothesis and a Strategy for Development.* Jan S. Prybyla 251

INDEX

INDEX

Abel-Smith, Brian
"An International Study of Health Expenditure," 77
American Association of Medical Colleges, 46
Ameriplan, *see* American Hospital Association
American Hospital Association (AHA)
Ameriplan, 101, 141, 144
and health care corporation (HCC), 163, 164
Hospitals, Guide Issue, 63–70
standardizing of systems by, 155, 164
statistics on hospitals by, 52–56, 65–66
American Medical Association (AMA)
and education of physicians, x, 43
and peer review, 168
health insurance proposal of, 125, 127, 128, 164, 172
restrictive policies of, 82, 83, 86–88
See also Medicredit
Amerst, Richard P., 55, 56
Andersen, Ronald, xi
ANDERSEN, RONALD and J. JOEL MAY, Factors Associated with the Increasing Cost of Hospital Care, 62–72
Anderson, Odin W., 74, 77
Annis, Edward R., 128 n. 11
Atomic Energy Commission, 42

Bailey, Richard M., 111
Berki, Sylvester E., xi, ix-xiv
BERKI, SYLVESTER E., National Health Insurance: An Idea Whose Time Has Come? 125–144; Introduction, ix–xiv
Biomedical science research
and Flexner Report, 46
and grant support, 40–42
and teaching, 40
and the university base, 39, 40
expansion of, 38–40
financing of, 38, 41, 42
Blue Shield programs, 169
Britain
hospital costs in, 74, 75, 76, 80
hospital stays in, 80, 81
British National Health Service
hospital costs of, 74, 75, 79
Burleson bill, 141

Cancer symptoms
knowledge of, in population, Table 3, 26
Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Higher Education and the Nation's Health,* 48
See also Carnegie Report (1970)
Carnegie Report (1970), 38, 48, 49
CHALLENGE OF HEALTH SERVICES FOR THE POOR, THE, Irving Leveson, 22–29
Chester, Theodore E., xi
CHESTER, THEODORE E., United States Hospital Costs in International Perspective, 73–81
Commission on Health Manpower (1967), 112
Committee on Medical Care, 127
Committee on the Cost of Medical Care (CCMC), 101, 112, 127
Community Health Association (Detroit), 108, 109
Comprehensive Health Planning, 154
Comprehensive health service organization (CHSO), Table 2, 137, 138
Consumer Price Index (CPI)
hospital component of, 65
medical care and, Table 4, 65
voluntary hospitals and, 67
"Consumerism," *see* Health, patient care
Cost
in economic studies, 90
meaning of term, 90
Cost-benefit analysis in health field, 156, 157
COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF HEALTH SERVICE, Robert N. Grosse, 89–99
COSTS AND QUALITY OF CARE IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOSPITALS, Duncan Neuhauser and Fernand Turcotte, 50–61
Council for Health Plan Alternatives (California), 153

Defense, Department of, 42
Densen, Paul, 60
De Tocqueville, Alexis, 154
Diseases
control programs on, 91–99
genetic-metabolic, 30–37
genetic, and medical ethics, 31, 32
therapy for, 30–37
hypothetical treatment, costs of, compared, Tables 2, 3, 4, 5, 95
Donabedian, Avedis, 103, 105, 107
Dowd, Donald W., xiv

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE INCREASING COST OF HOSPITAL CARE, Ronald Andersen and J. Joel May, 62–72
Falk, I. S., 131
Family Health Insurance Plan (FHIP), *see* Richard M. Nixon
Fein, Rashi, 5, 91, 140–141
Economics of Mental Illness, 91

Feldman, Jacob, 26
Feldstein, Martin, 59, 60, 84 n. 5, 85, 86, 110
Flexner Report (1910)
  and biomedical sciences, 39, 40, 46
  and medical education, 38–40, 48, 49
  and research, 40, 46
Fortune magazine, 126, 158
Freidson, Eliot L., 106, 155
Friedman, Milton, 85–88
Fuchs, V. R., 155, 157

Galbraith, John Kenneth, 85
Garfield, Sidney
  health services model, 1, 6–9
Gene mutations, 32
General Motors, 158
Genetic disorders
  consequences of treating, 30–37
  therapy for, 30–37
Garber, Abraham, 158
Germany, *see* West Germany
Gompers, Samuel, 83
Greenlick, Merwyn, xiv
GREENLICK, MERWYN R., The Impact of Prepaid Group Practice on American Medical Care: A Critical Evaluation, 100–113
Gross National Product (GNP)
  medical care as proportion of, 64, 65, 74, 77, 83, 151, 152, 168
GROSSE, ROBERT N., Cost-Benefit Analysis of Health Service, 89–99
Group Health Association (Washington, D.C.), 108, 109
Group Health Coöperative (Seattle), 107, 109
Group practice systems
  development of, xiv
  See also prepaid group practice

Harvard Community Health Foundation, 109
Health
  differences in, and their origins, 24–26
  impact of education on, 26
  personal, ix
  status by family income, Table 1, 25
  the nation's, ix, 151–159, 160–174
Health, Education, and Welfare, Dept. of (HEW, DHEW), and Kennedy health insurance plan, 136, 138, 140
  cancer control program of, Table 1, 92; Figure 1, 93; Figure 2, 93; Figure 3, 94
  studies of disease control programs, 91–99
  Study of National Health Insurance Proposals, 172
Health insurance
  expenditures under various plans for, Table 4, 139
  financial effects of major proposals for, Table 3, 139
Health Insurance Plan (New York) (HIP), 86, 104, 105, 108, 109
Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO), 28, 107, 109, 114, 123, 124, 138, 141
  See also Medicredit, Nixon Administration
Health PAC, 158
Health programs
  classified by results of, Figure 4, 96
  criteria for benefits in, 97
  economic costs of, 90, 91
  effects of preventive measures in, Table 6, 98
  priorities-setting in, 97
  results of fluoridation in, Table 7, 98
Health services
  availability of, for the poor, 14–15, 22–29
  availability of care, 162, 163
  choice of care in, 166
  cost effectiveness and, 151, 156, 159, 168
  expenditures per family by income, on, Table 2, 25
  financing of, for the poor, 28, 29, 89
  financing of, long-range, 171
  in public clinics and emergency, 16, 17
  institutionalization and, 151, 153–156, 159
  insurance, national, xiv, 100–113, 114–124, 125–144, 145–150
  issues of the future in, 151–159, 160–174
  long-term care in, 173
  major issues of, 160–174
  moral problems in, 89
  neighborhood centers for, 17, 18
  of the world, 77
  patient care in, 151–153, 159
  patient's life style and, 161, 162
  professional roles in, 164–166
  quality control and, 151, 158, 159, 167
  rationalization of delivery system in, 163, 164
  Somers proposal for, 171 n. 13
  use of, by the poor, 13, 14, 16–18
Health Services Corps, 154
HERMAN, MARY W., The Poor: Their Medical Needs and the Health Services Available to Them, 12–21
HESTON, ALAN W., Introduction, ix–xiv
Hill-Burton legislation, 154
Hogan bill
  health insurance benefits of, Table 5, 141, 142, 143
Hospitals, U.S.
  basic services in, Table 4, 56
  causes of costs of, 77–79
  classified by type of ownership, Table 1, 51
  costs related to quality of care in, 50–61
  death rates in, Table 5, 58
  for the poor, 58
  in rural America, 57, 58
  Kaiser plan, 59

long-term, type of patient and ownership, Table 3, 53
problems of, 2
proprietary, 59
short-term, occupancy rate, x
type of patient and ownership, Table 2, 52
use of, by the poor, 12, 18, 19
Veterans Administration, 52, 57
Howard University, 45
Howell, R. Rodney, ix
HOWELL, R. RODNEY, co-author, *see* Roger E. Stevenson
HUMAN PROBLEMS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH CARE, David Mechanic, 1–11

Illness
prevention of, 27
Ingbar, Mary L., 57 n. 16
Institutionalization
in health care, 153–156
International professional earnings, 87
ISSUES OF THE FUTURE IN HEALTH, William Lee Kissick and Samuel P. Martin, 151–159

Javits bill, 141, 143, 171
Johns Hopkins Medical School, 39, 49
Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Hospitals (JCAH)
inspections by, 55, 59, 105, 167
Jones, Lewis W., 84, 101
Journal of the American Medical Association, 86

Kaiser Foundation
Health Plan, 7, 8, 165
poverty groups and, 109
Kaiser Foundation (Portland), 102, 109, 111, 112
Kaiser-Permanente, 6, 102, 103, 106, 107
Kennedy, Edward
and the Health Security Act, 125, 131, Table 2, 134–137, 138–143, 146, 148, 149, 171–173
Kennedy, John F., 158, 159
KISSICK, WILLIAM LEE and SAMUEL P. MARTIN, Issues of the Future in Health, 151–159
Klarman, Herbert, 91, 109
Kuznets, Simon, 85 n. 6, 86–88

Lee, Roger I., 84, 101
Lee, Vergil N., 56
Leveson, Irving, xi
LEVESON, IRVING, The Challenge of Health Services for the Poor, 22–29
Lewis, H. Gregg, 87
Life expectancy in the U.S.
nonwhite, x
white, x
Likert, Rensis, 155
Lynch, Michael, x
LYNCH, MICHAEL, The Physician "Shortage": The Economists' Mirror, 82–88

MacColl, William, 107
MARTIN, SAMUEL P., co-author, *see* William Lee Kissick
Maternal and child health programs, 97–99
May, J. Joel, xi
MAY, J. JOEL, co-author, *see* Ronald Andersen
McKeown, Thomas, 26
Mechanic, David, x
MECHANIC, DAVID, Human Problems and the Organization of Health Care, 1–11
Medicaid
and AFDC, 149, 150
and Blue Shield fees, 169
and federal financing, 115, 145
and hospitals, 164
and inflation, 29, 65, 79, 114
and long-term care, 174
cost-benefit analysis of, 145
gains under, 147, 148
objections to, 149, 163
provisions of, 116–121
Task Force on, 120
Medical Assistance for the Aged (MAA), 115, 116, 121, 147
Medical Audit Program (MAP), 155
Medical care
alternatives to present, 5–8
and Gross National Product, Table 3, 64
and technical innovation, xi–xiii
cost increases of, xi–xiii, 22–29, 50–61, 62–72, 73–81, 89–99, 114–124, 125–144, 145–150, 151–159, 168–174
crisis basis of, 27
effectiveness of, 103, 104
efficiency in, 1, 2
for the poor, 12–21, 22–29, 50–61 passim, 114–124, 125–144 passim, 145–150 passim, 160–174 passim
function of, ix, 3–5
health levels and, x, 1–11, 12–21 passim
insufficiencies of, 2, 3
malfunctioning of, five causes for, ix-x
models of, 10
patterns of, 27
Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), 133, Table 2, 134–137
Medical Foundation (Ohio), 119
Medical Insurance Trust Fund, 116
Medical ombudsman, need for, 11
MEDICAL SCHOOL, ITS PRODUCTS AND ITS PROBLEMS, THE, Cecil G. Sheps and Conrad Seipp, 39–49
Medical schools
and the community, 46

and the future, 48
and the quest for relevance, 46
enrollment and graduates of, Table 1, 43; Table 2, 45
need for additional, in U.S., 43, 44
output of, 42
Medicare
aims of, 19
and Blue Shield fees, 169
and health insurance, 109
and hospitals, 164
and inflation, 29, 65–67, 79, 114
and the chronically ill, 173
cost-benefit analysis of, 145
federal funds and, xi, 97, 115, 145
gains under, 147, 148
objections to, 149, 163
provisions of, 116, 125, 143, 144
radiologists and, xii
MEDICARE AND MEDICAID, Howard N. Newman, 114–124
Medicredit, 133, Table 2, 134–137, 138–141, 143, 148, 149, 164, 171
See also Nixon Administration
Myrdal, Gunnar, 152

"Naderism," 166
National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower, 101
NATION'S HEALTH: ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE, THE, Anne R. Somers, 160–174
National health insurance (NHI)
and Congress, 128, 129
characteristics of three major plans, Table 2, 134–137
cost-benefit analysis and, 145
criteria for evaluation of, 131, 132, 142
dimensions of, 129
Kennedy plan, 133–137
Medicredit, 133–137
limited, categorical, voluntary (LCV), 129, 130, 143, 144
Nixon plan, 133–137
policy variables relevant to, 130 Table 1
proposals for, Appendix, 144
proposals for, in 92nd Congress, Appendix, 143, 144
total, comprehensive, compulsory (TCC), 129, 131, 143
NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE: AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME? Sylvester E. Berki, 125–144
National Health Insurance Partnership (Act), (1971), 131, 132
National Health Survey
and children of the poor, 13, 14
National Institutes of Health (NIH)
and biomedical research, 40
effects of funding by, 40, 42
National Science Foundation, 42
National Tuberculosis Association, 97
Neuhauser, Duncan, xi, 74, 77
NEUHAUSER, DUNCAN, and FERNAND TURCOTTE, Costs and Quality of Care in Different Types of Hospitals, 50–61
Newman, Howard N., xi
NEWMAN, HOWARD N., Medicare and Medicaid, 114–124
Nixon Administration
and health maintenance organization (HMO), 109, 125, 129, 130, 132, 138–142, 163, 164
See also Richard M. Nixon
Nixon, Richard M.
and Family Health Insurance Plan (FHIP), 124, 125, 130–133, Table 2, 134–137, 138, Tables 3 and 4, 139, 140, 149, 150, 163
and health delivery system, 163, 171, 172
and National Health Insurance Partnership, 149 n. 6
and National Health Insurance Standards Act, 149 n. 6
and wage/price freeze, 170

Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)
neighborhood health centers of, 107

Parsons, Talcott, ix
Patient Activities Survey (PAS), 155
Phenylketonuria (PKU)
effects of, Table, 34
treatment for, 30, 32–35
PHYSICIAN "SHORTAGE": THE ECONOMISTS' MIRROR, THE, Michael Lynch, 82–88
Physicians
and the poor, 12–14
black, 45
distribution of, in the U.S., x, xi
economic studies of, 85–88
incomes of, 43, 87
minority, 45
shortage of, 82–88
white vs. nonwhite utilization of, x, xi, 13–16
women as, 45
Poor, the
folk orientation of, to medical care, 20
health services available to, 12–21, 23–28
medical needs of, 12–21
special needs of, 19–21
POOR: THEIR MEDICAL NEEDS AND THE HEALTH SERVICES AVAILABLE TO THEM, THE, Mary W. Herman, 12–21
Prepaid group (medical) practice (PGP)
assessing efficiency of, 109–113
concept of, in American medical care, 100–113
definition of, 102
evaluation of, 104–108
population served by, 108, 109

Public Health Service, U.S., 40, 96

Radiologists
  Medicare pay scales and, xii, 79
Rayack, Elton, 86
Regional Medical Programs, 47, 154
Regionalization in health care, 154
Retinoblastoma
  effect of, Table, 34
  treatment of, 35
Rice, Dorothy, 91
Richardson, Elliot, 163
Rockefeller, Nelson, 163, 171
Rockefeller Foundation, 40
Roemer, Milton I., 55, 57, 59

Saward, Ernest W., 102
Schultze, Charles L., 91 n. 4
Scitovsky, Tibor, 87
SEIPP, CONRAD, co-author, *see* Cecil G. Sheps
Shapiro, Sam, 60
Sheps, Cecil G., x
SHEPS, CECIL G., and CONRAD SEIPP, The Medical School, Its Products and Its Problems, 38–49
Slee, Vergil N., 55, 56
Social Security Act (1935), 115, 148
Social Security Amendments
  and handicapped children, 99
  and Medicare, 109, 115
  and welfare payments, 115
SOME MEDICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE TREATMENT FOR GENETIC-METABOLIC DISEASES, Roger E. Stevenson and R. Rodney Howell, 30–37
Somers, Anne R., 78
  Doctors, Patients and Health Insurance, 78
  "Somers proposal," 171 n. 13
SOMERS, ANNE R., The Nation's Health: Some Issues, 160–174
Somers, Herman, 78
Sparling, Frederick J., 56
Stevens, Carl M., 111, 112
Stevenson, Roger E., ix
STEVENSON, ROGER E. and R. RODNEY HOWELL, Some Medical and Social Aspects of the Treatment for Genetic-Metabolic Diseases, 30–37
Stuart, Bruce C., xi
STUART, BRUCE C., Who Gains from Public Health Programs? 145–150
Sweden
  hospital costs in, 73–81 passim
Swedish Health System
  imbalance of, 75

Taylor, Lester D., 57 n. 16
Trussell, Ray G., 56
Turcotte, Fernand, xi
TURCOTTE, FERNAND, co-author, *see* Duncan Neuhauser

United Kingdom, *see* Britain
UNITED STATES HOSPITAL COSTS IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE, Theodore E. Chester, 73–81

Veneman, John G., 138
Veterans' Administration hospitals, 148
Voluntary hospitals, *see* Hospitals

Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, 128
Weisbrod, Burton
  Economics of Public Health, 91
West Germany
  hospital costs in, 73–81 passim
White, Kerr L., 163
WHO GAINS FROM PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMS? Bruce C. Stuart, 145–150
World Health Organization (WHO)
  definition of health by, ix, 157
  report, "World Health Situation 1965/1968," 77

Yale Law Review, 86

New

Mao's Revolution and the Chinese Political Culture

Richard H. Solomon

Mao Tse-tung's career spans more than half a century of efforts to free China from her past and to create a new political life for the nation. In this study Mr. Solomon describes Mao's struggle to embody his political thought in the institutions of the People's Republic, and the increasing resistance from other Party leaders that led to the Cultural Revolution.

650 pages 12 halftones $16.75

from California
University of California Press
Berkeley 94720

REINHOLD NIEBUHR:
Prophet to Politicians
by Ronald H. Stone

A perceptive analysis of the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr that centers on his work as a political philosopher and moralist, especially in the field of international politics. Through a long career, Dr. Niebuhr became recognized as the chief prodder of politicians in the field of ethics. He was a man of his times, and the author sees most of his writings stemming from a very specific tension between an immediate political situation and his philosophical reflections. $8

at your local bookstore
abingdon

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

REPORTS OF JUDGMENTS, ADVISORY OPINIONS AND ORDERS

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES FOR STATES OF THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA) NOTWITHSTANDING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 276 (1970)

ADVISORY OPINION OF 21 JUNE 1971

1971

Now available $8.50

UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS
United Nations, New York, N. Y. 10017

Kindly mention THE ANNALS *when writing to advertisers*

VOLUME 400 MARCH 1972

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy *of* Political
and Social Science

RICHARD D. LAMBERT, *Editor*
ALAN W. HESTON, *Assistant Editor*

THE GOVERNMENT AS REGULATOR

Special Editor of This Volume

MARVER H. BERNSTEIN
Professor of Politics and Public Affairs
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

PHILADELPHIA

© 1972, by THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 70-186412

The articles appearing in THE ANNALS are indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, the *Book Review Index*, the *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin*, and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences*. They are also abstracted and indexed in *ABC Pol Sci*, *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604. Cost per year $12.00 paper-bound; $16.00 clothbound. Second-class postage paid at Lancaster and at additional mailing offices.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION . . . . . *Marver H. Bernstein* ix

REFLECTIONS AND APPRAISALS

PLURALISM AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS . . . . . *Carl A. Auerbach* 1

INDEPENDENT REGULATORY AGENCIES: A PERSPECTIVE ON THEIR REFORM . . . . . *Marver H. Bernstein* 14

THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF FEDERAL HEARING EXAMINERS . . . . . *Joseph Zwerdling* 27

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES . . . . . *Warner W. Gardner* 36

PUBLIC INTEREST ADVOCACY AND THE REGULATORY PROCESS . . . . . *Richard C. Leone* 46

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATION

INSURANCE REGULATION: CURRENT ISSUES AND PROBLEMS . . . . . *Richard E. Stewart* 59

REGULATION OF HOSPITALS . . . . . *Anne R. Somers* 69

REGULATION OF MEDICAL DEVICES . . . . . *Jonathan M. Spivak* 82

COAL MINING: NEW EFFORTS IN AN OLD FIELD . . . . . *Orrin B. Conaway, Jr.* 95

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEM . . . . . *Lynton K. Caldwell* 103

NUCLEAR POWER LICENSING AND REGULATION . . . . . *Harold P. Green* 116

THE CABLE QUESTION: EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION IN ELECTRONIC MASS COMMUNICATIONS . . . . . *Don R. Le Duc* 127

SUPPLEMENT

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON RECENT POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND THEORY . . . . . *Dante Germino* 140

BOOK DEPARTMENT 149

INDEX 233

BOOK DEPARTMENT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ARMSTRONG, HAMILTON FISH. *Peace and Counter Peace from Wilson to Hitler: Memoirs of the Author, an Editor of Foreign Affairs.* Albert L. Weeks 149

BRUNNER, RONALD D. and GARRY D. BREWER. *Organized Complexity.* Henry Teune 150

CLEMENS, DIANE SHAVER. *Yalta.* Martin B. Travis 151

GAMSON, WILLIAM A. and ANDRE MODIGLIANI. *Untangling the Cold War: A Strategy for Testing Rival Theories.* Pi-chao Chen 152

WILSON, ROBERT R. *International Law and Contemporary Commonwealth Issues.* Robert J. Lieber 152

ZARTMAN, I. WILLIAM. *The Politics of Trade Negotiations between Africa and the European Economic Community: The Weak Confront the Strong.* William G. Andrews 153

AFRICA AND ASIA

BATES, ROBERT H. *Unions, Parties, and Political Development: A Study of Mineworkers in Zambia.* William H. Friedland 154

CLUBB, O. EDMUND. *China and Russia: The "Great Game."* John A. White 155

CURTIS, GERALD L. *Election Campaigning Japanese Style.* William H. Elsbree ... 156

DEKMEJIAN, R. HRAIR. *Egypt under Nasir: A Study in Political Dynamics.* Alvin Z. Rubinstein 157

FOX, RICHARD G. *Kin, Clan, Raja, and Rule: State-Hinterland Relations in Preindustrial India.* Howard Spodek 158

KIM, SE-JIN. *The Politics of Military Revolution in Korea.* Chong-Sik Lee 159

KLEIN, DONALD W. and ANNE B. CLARK. *Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921–1965.* Volumes I and II. Alan P.L. Liu 160

LEFEVER, ERNEST W. *Spear and Scepter: Army, Police, and Politics in Tropical Africa.* William John Hanna 160

WILMINGTON, MARTIN W. *The Middle East Supply Centre.* Harry N. Howard .. 161

WU, SILAS H. L. *Communication and Imperial Control in China: Evolution of the Palace Memorial System, 1693–1735.* Albert Feuerwerker 162

UNITED STATES HISTORY AND POLITICS

BARTLEY, NUMAN V. *From Thurmond to Wallace: Political Tendencies in Georgia, 1948–1968.* Perry H. Howard 163

CALAM, JOHN. *Parsons and Pedagogues: The S.P.G. Adventure in American Education.* William W. Brickman 165

CHATFIELD, CHARLES. *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914–1941.* C. David Tompkins 166

PAGE

CORNWELL, ELMER E., JR. and JAY S. GOODMAN. *The Politics of the Rhode Island Constitutional Convention.* Franklin L. Burdette 167

DOLBEARE, KENNETH M. and PHILLIP E. HAMMOND. *The School Prayer Decisions: From Court Policy to Local Practice.* Henry Robert Glick 168

GARVEY, GERALD. *Constitutional Bricolage.* David F. Hughes 169

GRUBBS, DONALD H. *Cry from the Cotton: The Southern Tenant Farmer's Union and the New Deal.* Alton Hornsby, Jr. 170

HARTMANN, SUSAN M. *Truman and the 80th Congress.* Robert J. Huckshorn ... 171

KAPLAN, MORTON A. *Dissent and the State in Peace and War: An Essay on the Grounds of Public Morality.* Paul Y. Hammond 171

MADDEX, JACK P., JR. *The Virginia Conservatives, 1867–1879: A Study in Reconstruction Politics.* Raymond A. Mohl 172

MERRILL, HORACE S. and MARION G. MERRILL. *The Republican Command, 1897–1913.* David Fellman 173

ODEN, WILLIAM E. and DAN NIMMO. *The Texas Political System.* Perry H. Howard 163

O'NEILL, WILLIAM L. *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's.* Harvey A. Silverglade 174

SCHAPSMEIER, EDWARD L. and FREDERICK H. *Henry A. Wallace of Iowa: The Agrarian Years, 1910–1940.* George Osborn 177

SCHAPSMEIER, EDWARD L. and FREDERICK H. *Prophets in Politics: Henry A. Wallace and the War Years, 1940–1965.* George Osborn 177

SLOAN, DOUGLAS. *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal.* John Calam 176

TAYLOR, WILLIAM L. *Hanging Together: Equality in an Urban Nation.* Charles A. Ekstrom 178

THOMAS, EMORY M. *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience.* Ari Hoogenboom 178

VAN ALSTYNE, RICHARD W. *Genesis of American Nationalism.* Sidney I. Pomerantz 180

WARD, HARRY M. *Unite or Die: Intercolony Relations, 1690–1763. Jack Sosin* ... 180

WEINBERG, ADELAIDE. *John Elliot Cairnes and the American Civil War: A Study in Anglo-American Relations.* Ari Hoogenboom 178

WHEELER, JOHN P., JR., and MELISSA KINSEY. *Magnificent Failure: The Maryland Constitutional Convention, 1967–1968.* Franklin L. Burdette 167

WOLF, GEORGE D. *Constitutional Revision in Pennsylvania: The Dual Tactic Amendment and Limited Convention.* Franklin L. Burdette 167

EUROPEAN HISTORY AND POLITICS

BOURDEAUX, MICHAEL. *Patriarch and Prophets: Persecution of the Russian Orthodox Church Today.* Charles A. Frazee 190

BROWN, KENNETH D. *Labour and Unemployment, 1900–1914.* P. F. Clarke 187

PAGE

BUTLER, DAVID and MICHAEL PINTO-DUSCHINSKY. *The British General Election of 1970.* Stephen P. Koff 181

CONNOR, W. ROBERT. *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens.* Truesdell S. Brown 182

HARRISON, BRIAN. *Drink and the Victorians: The Question of Temperance in England, 1815–1872.* Chester H. Kirby 183

HARTLEY, ANTHONY. *Gaulism: The Rise and Fall of a Political Movement.* Russell B. Capelle 184

HEER, NANCY WHITTIER. *Politics and History in the Soviet Union.* Alfred J. Reiber 185

HIGONNET, PATRICE L. R. *Pont-de-Montvert: Social Structure and Politics in a French Village, 1700–1914.* Roy Pierce 186

LEVENTHAL, F. M. *Respectable Radical: George Howell and Victorian Working Class Politics.* P. F. Clarke 187

MALE, D. J. *Russian Peasant Organization before Collectivisation: A Study of Commune and Gathering, 1925–1930.* Stephen P. Dunn 188

MARRUS, MICHAEL R. *The Politics of Assimilation: A Study of the French Jewish Community at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair.* Henry Blumenthal 189

MARSHALL, RICHARD H., JR., ed. *Aspects of Religion in the Soviet Union, 1917–1967.* Charles A. Frazee 190

MASTNY, VOJTECH. *The Czechs under Nazi Rule: The Failure of National Resistance, 1939–1942.* Vladimir V. Kusin 192

MCDOWELL, R. B. and JOHN A. WOODS, eds. *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke: Vol. IX, May 1796–July 1797.* Alfred F. Havighurst 192

PENNAR, JAAN, IVAN I. BAKALO, and GEORGE Z. F. BEREDAY. *Modernization and Diversity in Soviet Education, with Special Reference to Nationality Groups.* Thornton Anderson 193

ROSE, RICHARD. *Governing without Consensus: An Irish Perspective.* Alfred McClung Lee 195

SHEPPARD, THOMAS F. *Lourmarin in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of a French Village.* Roy Pierce 186

VUCINICH, ALEXANDER. *Science in Russian Culture, 1861–1917.* Lyman H. Legters 194

WALLACE, MARTIN. *Northern Ireland: 50 Years of Self Government.* Alfred McClung Lee 195

WILSON, FRANK L. *The French Democratic Left: Toward a Modern Party System, 1963–1969.* Russell B. Capelle 184

ZELNIK, REGINALD E. *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855–1870.* David Hecht 196

CANADA AND LATIN AMERICA

ADAMS, RICHARD NEWBOLD, with chapters by BRIAN MURPHY and BRYAN ROBERTS. *Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944–1966.* Dana G. Munro 203

PAGE

BRADING, D. A. *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810.* Harry Bernstein 197

CALVERT, PETER. *A Study of Revolution.* Karl M. Schmitt 198

CARLTON, ROBERT G., ed. *Soviet Image of Contemporary Latin America: A Documentary History, 1960–1968.* James Petras 199

GREEN, DAVID. *The Containment of Latin America: A History of the Myths and Realities of the Good Neighbor Policy.* James Petras 199

JOHNSON, ALLEN W. *Sharecroppers of the Sertão: Economics and Dependence on a Brazilian Plantation.* Donald Pierson 201

KENNEDY, PAUL P. *The Middle Beat: A Correspondent's View of Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador.* Calvin W. Hines 200

LOVE, JOSEPH L. *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882–1930.* Donald Pierson 201

MELVILLE, THOMAS and MARJORIE. *Guatemala: The Politics of Land Ownership.* Dana G. Munro 202

PETRAS, JAMES F. and ROBERT LAPORTE, JR. *Cultivating Revolution: The United States and Agrarian Reform in Latin America.* Virginia Freehafer 203

PINARD, MAURICE. *The Rise of a Third Party: A Study in Crisis Politics.* M. S. Whittington 204

WEITZ, RAANAN. *From Peasant to Farmer: A Revolutionary Strategy for Development.* Virginia Freehafer 203

SOCIOLOGY

BECKER, HOWARD S. *Sociological Work: Method and Substance.* William M. Dobriner 205

DUSTER, TROY. *The Legislation of Morality: Law, Drugs, and Moral Judgment.* Harold Finestone 206

GIL, DAVID G. *Violence against Children: Physical Child Abuse in the United States.* Gordon Halpern 207

HAHN, ROGER. *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666–1803.* Garland Downum 208

KROHN, ROGER G. *The Social Shaping of Science: Institutions, Ideologies, and Careers in Science.* Paul F. Kress 209

LOVERIDGE, ROBERT O. *City Managers in Legislative Politics.* Richard E. Edgar .. 210

MCCLEERY, ROBERT. *One Life—One Physician.* Anthony R. Kovner 211

MULKAY, M. J. *Functionalism, Exchange and Theoretical Strategy.* David Silverman 212

RITTI, R. RICHARD. *The Engineer in the Industrial Corporation.* Glen U. Cleeton 213

ROGERS, DAVID. *The Management of Big Cities: Interest Groups and Social Change Strategies.* Richard E. Edgar 210

VINCENT, JOAN. *African Elite: The Big Men of a Small Town.* J. S. LaFontaine . 214

PAGE

WALKER, NIGEL. *Sentencing in a Rational Society.* Norman S. Hayner 215

WARD, DAVID. *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America.* John E. Brush 216

ECONOMICS

BALDWIN, ROBERT E. *Nontariff Distortions of International Trade.* Bala Balassa . 217

BORCHARDT, KURT. *Structure and Performance of the U.S. Communications Industry: Government Regulation and Company Planning.* Bridger M. Mitchell 217

BOWEN, WILLIAM G. and T. ALDRICH FINEGAN. *The Economics of Labor Force Participation.* Arthur Lermer 218

GRAHAM, HARRY EDWARD. *The Paper Rebellion: Development and Upheaval in Pulp and Paper Unionism.* Mark R. Killingsworth 220

LIETAER, BERNARD A. *Financial Management of Foreign Exchange: An Operational Technique to Reduce Risk.* Arthur I. Bloomfield 221

SEGAL, MARTIN. *The Rise of the United Association: National Unionism in the Pipe Trades, 1884–1924.* Mark R. Killingsworth 220

SHARP, JAMES ROGERS. *The Jacksonians Versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837.* Paul H. Bergeron 222

INDEX

INDEX

Administrative agencies
  Administrative Conference of the U.S. and, 36–45 passim
  cable television and, 127–139
  environmental quality and, 103–115 passim
  federal hearing examiners and, 27–35
  nuclear power licensing and, 116–126
  pluralism and, 1–13
  public interest advocates and, 46–58
  See also specific agencies
Administrative Conference Act (1964), 36–38, 43
Administrative Conference of the United States, 9, 10, 24, 33–35, 36–45
Administrative Procedure Act (APA), 10 n. 41, 17, 24, 28–31, 39, 41, 44, 48, 52
Advisory Council on Coal Mine Safety and Research, 100, 101
American Bar Association, 37, 53
American Hospital Association (AHA), 69–71, 73, 81
  Special Committee on the Provision of Health Services (Perloff Committee), 73
American Medical Association (AMA), 73, 88
AMP v. *Gardner*, 86–88
Ash Council Report, 2, 14, 15, 19–21, 33, 34, 42, 109, 110, 114
Ash, Roy L., 19
Atomic Energy Act (1946), 117
Atomic Energy Act (1954), 117, 118, 120, 121, 123
  amendments of
    Price-Anderson Act, 118, 119
    public hearing requirement, 120, 124
Atomic Energy Commission, 25, 116–126
Atomic Energy, Joint Committee on, 119, 120, 123–125
Atomic Safety and Licensing Board, 122
AUERBACH, CARL A., Pluralism and the Administrative Process, 1–13

Bell, Daniel and Virginia Held, 13
Bentley, Arthur F., 3, 7
BERNSTEIN, MARVER H., Independent Regulatory Agencies: A Perspective on Their Reform, 14–26; Introduction, ix
Black Lung, 101
Blue Cross, 63, 64, 71, 72
Britain, 6
Brown, Ray E., 76
Brownlow Committee, 14, 15–17
Bureau of Mines, 25, 95–102
Bureau of the Budget, 17, 37
Burger, Warren E., 48

Cable television, 56, 127–139
  government regulation of, 127–139
Cahn, Edgar S. and Jean C. Cahn, 9
Cahn, Jean C., *see* Edgar S. Cahn
CALDWELL, LYNTON K., Environmental Quality as an Administrative Problem, 103–115
Calvert Cliffs Coordinating Committee, Inc. v. *U.S. Atomic Energy Commission*, 121, 125, 126
Center for Analysis of Public Issues, 55
Center for Law and Social Policy, 47, 54
Center for the Study of Responsive Law, 54
Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), 20, 29, 33
Civil Service Commission, U.S., and hearing examiners, 28, 29, 32–35
Class-action suit, environmental, 111, 112
Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, 53, 95–102
Coal Mining, government regulation of, 95–102
COAL MINING: NEW EFFORTS IN AN OLD FIELD, Orrin B. Conaway, Jr., 95–102
Code of Federal Regulations, 40, 44
Commission on Interests and Dividends, 5
Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, U.S., 16, 17
Committee of Interns and Residents, 73
Committee on Independent Regulatory Commissions, 16
Committee on the Health Services Industry, 70
Common Cause, 50
Communications Act of 1934, 130
Community Action Program (CAP), 8, 9
Community antenna systems, 128, 133, 134
Comprehensive Occupational Health Safety Act, 53
CONAWAY, ORRIN B., JR., Coal Mining: New Efforts in an Old Field, 95–102
Congress, U.S., 44, 46, 49, 82–94 passim, 95–102 passim, 106–110, 115, 132, 135, 136
Congressmen, U.S., 132
Consumer Bulletin, 41, 44
Consumer protection, 57, 82
Cooper Committee, 83, 90, 93
Cooper, Theodore, 83, 90
  See also Cooper Committee
Copyright Act of 1909, 136
Cost of Living Council, 5, 70
Council of Economic Advisors, 20
Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), 110, 114, 115

Courts, U.S., 49, 54, 136
Cramton, Roger C., 37, 38
Cyclamates, 53

Darling v. *Charleston Memorial Hospital*, 76–78
Davis, Kenneth C., 4–6
Democracy
  initiatory, 57
  juridical, 2–4, 12
  majoritarian, 11
  participatory, 2, 3, 9, 10, 12
  pluralistic, 11, 12
Denenberg, Herbert, 71
Department of the Interior, U.S., *see* Interior, U.S. Department of

Eckstein, Otto, 70
Economic Opportunity Act, 8 n. 30
Economic Stabilization Act, 4, 5 n. 14, 6
  Phase II of, 5, 70, 80
Economic stabilization program, 4, 70
Edwards, Charles C., 89
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 37
Ellis, Emory N., Jr., 33
Environment, quality of
  Council on Environmental Quality, 110, 114, 115
  Environmental Protection Agency, 112–114
  government administration and, 103–115
  international aspects, 114
  National Environmental Policy Act (1969), 104, 107, 110
  nuclear power licensing and, 117, 118, 120, 121, 124, 125
  policy-making and, 103–115
  science and technology and, 105, 106, 111–114
Environmental groups, 50
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 112–114
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEM, Lynton K. Caldwell, 103–115
Executive Branch, U.S., 106, 108–110, 115
Executive Office of the President, U.S., 15, 18, 110, 114

Failor, Edward D., 101
Fainsod, Merle, 15–16, 20, 21
Fair Labor Standards Act, 73
Federal administrative justice center, 41, 44
Federal Aviation Agency, 41–44 passim
Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act (1969), 53, 95–102
Federal Coal Mine Safety Act (1941), 96
Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 10, 19, 25, 52 n. 4, 56, 127, 129–139
Federal hearing examiners, 27–35, 41, 44
Federal Maritime Commission, 20
Federal Power Act, 10
Federal Power Commission, 10, 20, 28, 29
Federal Radiation Council, 117, 118
Federal Register, 40
Federal Rules, 43
Federal Trade Commission, 20, 43, 53
Federal Trade Practices Agency, 20
Food and Drug Administration, 25, 41, 42, 50, 53, 82–94
Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, 86, 87
Freedom of Information Act, 42, 43, 52

Gans, Herbert J., 11, 12
GARDNER, WARNER W., The Administrative Conference of the United States, 36–45
General Accounting Office, 101
Geological Survey, 23
Glazer, Nathan, 9
Goodrich, William W., 88
Government, U.S.
  Organization Manual, 40, 44
Government, U.S., regulation
  of cable television broadcasting, 126–131
    state/federal relations in, 135, 138
  of coal mining, 95–102
    state/federal relations in, 95, 97–100
  of environmental quality, 103–115
  of hospitals, 69–81
  of insurance industry, 59–68
  of medical devices, 82–94
  of nuclear power licensing, 116–126
GREEN, HAROLD P., Nuclear Power Licensing and Regulation, 116–126
Griswold, Erwin N., 111, 112

Haefele, Edwin, 25
Harlan, John Marshall, 6–7 n. 20
Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), U.S., Department of, 11, 25, 73, 75, 83–85, 90–93
  Committee on medical device legislation (Cooper Committee), 83, 90, 93
  See also Food and Drug Administration; New Drug Applications; National Institutes of Health; Social Security Administration
Hearing examiners, *see* Federal hearing examiners
Held, Virginia, *see* Bell, Daniel
Hill-Burton legislation, 69, 74, 75, 78
Hoover Commission
  First (1949), 14, 16, 17
    Task Force Report, 16, 17
  Second, 14, 17, 18
    Task Force on Legal Services and Procedures, 17, 18

Hospitals, U.S.
government regulation of, 69–81
franchised system, 80–1
public utility model, 70, 79–81
Joint Commission on Accreditation, 72
House of Representatives, U.S., 49
House Labor Committee, 101
Special Subcommittee on Labor, 74
Hurst, Willard, 12

Immigration and Naturalization Service, 42, 43
Incrementalism, approach of advocates, 58
Independent regulatory agencies, 14–26, 1–139 passim
INDEPENDENT REGULATORY AGENCIES: A PERSPECTIVE ON THEIR REFORM, Marver H. Bernstein, 14–26
Insurance
no-fault, auto, 55
Insurance companies, U.S., government regulation of, 59–68
INSURANCE REGULATION: CURRENT ISSUES AND PROBLEMS, Richard E. Stewart, 59–68
Interest-group liberalism, 1–13
Interior, U.S. Department of, 25, 96, 100, 101
Secretary of, 96, 97
See also Bureau of Mines; Geological Survey
Internal Revenue Code, 53, 54, 74
Internal Revenue Service, 53, 54, 74, 75, 77, 78
Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), 20, 33, 40, 43, 44, 50

Jaffe, Louis L., 17, 22, 23
Johnson, Lyndon B., 8
Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals, 72
Joint Commission on Atomic Energy, 119, 120, 123–125
Juridical democracy, 2, 3, 12
Justice Department, 42

Kaufman, Arnold S., 11, 12
Kaufman, Herbert, 2
Kennedy Administration Conference, 34, 37
Kennedy, John Fitzgerald, 18, 28, 37
Kimbell, John T., 87
Kolodner, Ferne K., *see* Sanford Kravitz
Kolodner, Howard I., 11
Kravitz, Sanford and Ferne K. Kolodner, 8

Labor Department, U.S., 25, 43
Labor unions, U.S.
Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union (N.Y.C.), 73, 74
Labor, U.S., leaders of, 5
Landis, James M., 18, 19
Landis Report on Regulatory Agencies, 14, 18, 19
LE DUC, DON R., The Cable Question: Evolution or Revolution in Electronic Mass Communications, 127–139
Legislators, legislation, 5, 6, 49, 50, 52, 53
LEONE, RICHARD C., Public Interest Advocacy and the Regulatory Process, 46–58
Liberalism, 12
See also interest group liberalism
Lobbying, 49, 53–56, 93
Lowi, Theodore J., 2–9, 12, 13
The End of Liberalism: Ideology, Policy, and the Crisis of Public Authority, 3
The Politics of Disorder, 4

McBride, William Leon, 11
McClure's magazine, 57
McFarland, Carl, 19
Macy, John W., Jr., 28, 32, 33
Massel, Mark, 21
Medical devices, government regulation of, 82–94
Medicare, Medicaid, 69, 71–78 passim
Middle class, U.S., white, 56
Motor Vehicle Safety Act, 53

Nader, Ralph, 46, 47, 51 n. 3, 52–57, 83
Public Citizen, Inc., 54
"Naderism," 47, 57
National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), 135
National Association of Insurance Commissioners, 67
National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), 104, 107, 110, 124, 125
National Institutes of Health, 23, 90, 92, 93
National Labor Relations Act (Taft-Hartley), 73, 74
National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 33, 40, 43, 44
National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), 11, 74, 75
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act, 53
New Drug Applications (NDAs), 86
New York Times Magazine, 52
Nixon Administration
and hospital regulation, 80
and medical device regulation, 82, 83, 85, 91–93
Nixon, Richard M.
Economic Stabilization Program, 4, 5
Phase II of, 5, 70
and Executive Branch reorganization, 108–110
and medical device regulation, 83
and Ralph Nader, 53
See also Ash Council Report
Non-delegation doctrine, 3–6
Nuclear power
Atomic Energy Act (1946), 117

Atomic Energy Act (1954), 117, 118, 120, 121, 123
Atomic Energy Commission, 116–126
Calvert Cliffs decision, 121, 125, 126
Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 119, 120, 123–125
licensing and regulation of, 116–126
NUCLEAR POWER LICENSING AND REGULATION, Harold P. Green, 116–126
Nutting, Charles B., 18

Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), 7–10, 77
Community Action Program (CAP), 7–9
Legal Services Program, 10
Office of Telecommunication Policy, 130
O'Leary, John F., 100
Owen, Jack, 75

Pay Board, 5
People's Counsel, 9, 10, 41
Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act, 23
Perloff Committee, *see* American Hospital Association
Phase II, *see* Economic Stabilization Act
Pluralism, 1–13, 112
PLURALISM AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS, Carl A. Auerbach, 1–13
Presidency, U.S., 4, 15, 16, 37, 38, 109, 110, 115
President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, *see* Ash Council Report
President's Committee on Administrative Management, *see* Brownlow Committee
Press, the, 46, 49–57 passim
Prettyman, E. Barrett, 37
Price-Anderson Act, 118, 119
See also Atomic Energy Act
Price Commission, 5
"Problems In Implementation of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969," 101
Public Health Service, 77
Public hearings, intervenors, and nuclear power licensing, 116, 119–126
PUBLIC INTEREST ADVOCACY AND THE REGULATORY PROCESS, Richard C. Leone, 46–58
Public interest advocacy movement, 46–58
Public interest and public interest groups, 3, 7, 10, 13, 29, 30, 41, 46–58, 70, 71, 79, 109, 116–126, 129, 130, 137–139
Public Interest Research Groups, 54, 56
Public Law 91–173, 96, 97
Public Utility Holding Company Act, 20

Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act, 53
Ralph Nader, Public Citizen, Inc., 54
See also Nader, Ralph
Recommendations and Reports of the Administrative Conference of the United States, 34, 35
Reform activity, 66
Reform Movement, 56, 57
Regionalism in insurance regulation, 60
Regulation, Governmental
See Government, U.S., regulation
Regulatory agencies
Office for the Oversight of, 18
See Administrative agencies
REGULATION OF HOSPITALS, Ann R. Sommers, 69–81
REGULATION OF MEDICAL DEVICES, Jonathan M. Spivak, 82–94
Report on Selected Independent Regulatory Agencies, 33, 34
Richardson, Elliot, 73
Rogers, Paul, 85, 92, 93
Roosevelt, Franklin D.
Brownlow Committee, 15
Rubin, Lillian B., 8

Schechter Corp. v. *United States*, 3 n. 9
Schechter rule, 4, 5
Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), 20, 42–44 passim
Seidman, Harold, 23
Selznick, Philip, 7
Shain, Max, 76
Shannon, James A., 84
Shriver, R. Sargent, 8
Social Security Administration, 71, 72, 77, 101
SOMMERS, ANN R., Regulation of Hospitals, **69–81**
Southwick, A. F., 76
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, 41
Special Committee on Insurance Holding Companies, 65
SPIVAK, JONATHAN M., Regulation of Medical Devices, 82–94
Springer, Eric W., 76
Staggers, Harley O., 85
Steiner, Gilbert Y., 9
STEWART, RICHARD E., Insurance Regulation: Current Issues and Problems, 59–68
Stone, Julius, 6
Sundquist, James L., 8
Supreme Court, U.S., 3, 4 n. 11, 6 n. 20

Task Force, *see* Hoover Commission
Tax-exempt status
of hospitals, 74, 75
of public interest advocacy groups, 53
Television, cable
government regulation of, 127–139
THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, Warner W. Gardner, 36–45

THE CABLE QUESTION: EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION IN ELECTRONIC MASS COMMUNICATIONS, Don R. Le Duc, 127–139
THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF FEDERAL HEARING EXAMINERS, Joseph Zwerdling, 27–35
Theoretical Possibilities and Consequences of Major Accidents in Large Nuclear Power Plants, 118
Time magazine, 70
Transportation Department, 20, 25
Truman, David B., 3, 7

Unidisk, *see U.S.* v. *Bacto-Unidisk*
Upland Cotton Program, 10
U.S. v. *Bacto-Unidisk*, 86–88

Virginia v. *Charles R. Pfizer and Co.*, 54

Wade, H. W. R., 6
War on Poverty, 7, 8
Warren, Earl, 87
West Virginia, 99
"What's Wrong with U.S. Medicine?" 70
Wheeler, Henry P., 101
White middle class, *see* middle class, U.S., white
Wholesome Meat Act, 53
Williams, Jerre S., 37–38
Wolff, Arthur H., 86

ZWERDLING, JOSEPH, The Role and Functions of Federal Hearing Examiners, 27–35

VOLUME 401 MAY 1972

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy *of* Political
and Social Science

RICHARD D. LAMBERT, *Editor*
ALAN W. HESTON, *Assistant Editor*

AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Special Editor of This Volume

PARKER T. HART
President
The Middle East Institute
Washington, D.C.

PHILADELPHIA

© 1972, by THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 72-78294

The articles appearing in THE ANNALS are indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, the *Book Review Index*, the *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin*, and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences*. They are also abstracted and indexed in *ABC Pol Sci*, *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604. Cost per year $12.00 paper-bound; $16.00 clothbound. Second-class postage paid at Lancaster and at additional mailing offices.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . . *Parker T. Hart* ix

TRADE, SKILLS, AND SYMPATHY: THE FIRST CENTURY AND A HALF OF COMMERCE WITH THE NEAR EAST . . . . . *James A. Field, Jr.* 1

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL AND MISSIONARY EFFORTS IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES . . . . . *Bayard Dodge* 15

THE GREAT DIVIDE: WORLD WAR II . . . . . *Raymond A. Hare* 23

MIDDLE EASTERN OIL SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR . . . . . *Thomas C. Barger* 31

UNITED STATES' SUPPORT FOR IRAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY, 1945–1959 . . . . . *George Lenczowski* 45

NORTH AFRICA: CALCULUS OF POLICY . . . . . *William H. Lewis* 56

THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE PALESTINE QUESTION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL . . . . . *Evan M. Wilson* 64

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE: TURKEY . . . . . *Joseph C. Satterthwaite* 74

THE REGIONAL PACTS AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE . . . . *Harry N. Howard* 85

THE AMERICAN CONCERN IN CYPRUS . . . . . *T. W. Adams* 95

THE PERSIAN GULF: BRITISH WITHDRAWAL AND WESTERN SECURITY . . . . . *J. C. Hurewitz* 106

THE UNITED STATES, THE ARABS, AND ISRAEL: PEACE EFFORTS OF KENNEDY, JOHNSON, AND NIXON . . . . . *Don Peretz* 116

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST . . . . . *John C. Campbell* 126

WHERE WE STAND . . . . . *Parker T. Hart* 136

SUPPLEMENT

RECENT TRENDS IN ETHNOLOGY: 1966–1970 . . . . . *Robert T. Anderson* 143

BOOK DEPARTMENT 154

INDEX 234

BOOK DEPARTMENT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FORWARD, NIGEL. *The Field of Nations: New Approaches to International Relations.* Russell J. Leng 154

HUGO, GRANT. *Appearance and Reality in International Relations.* William R. Kintner 155

ULAM, ADAM B. *The Rivals: America and Russia since World War II.* Harvey Fireside 156

AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

COLLINS, ROBERT O. *Land Beyond the Rivers: The Southern Sudan, 1898–1918.* K. D. D. Henderson 158

GRABILL, JOSEPH L. *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927.* Richard Hrair Dekmejian 157

HANNA, WILLIAM J. and JUDITH L. HANNA. *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa: An Interdisciplinary Approach.* William A. Hance 158

ISMAEL, TAREQ Y. *The U.A.R. in Africa: Egypt's Policy under Nasser.* K. D. D. Henderson 158

JOHNSON, G. WESLEY, JR. *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal: The Struggle for Power in the Four Communes, 1900–1920.* Lucy C. Behrman 159

LIEBENOW, J. GUS. *Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanzania: The Case of the Makonde.* Raymond F. Hopkins 160

MELSON, ROBERT and HOWARD WOLPE, eds. *Nigeria: Modernization and the Politics of Communalism.* Clyde R. Ingle 161

OBICHERE, BONIFACE I. *West African States and European Expansion: The Dahomey-Niger Hinterland, 1885–1898.* Jean Herskovits 162

TRASK, ROGER R. *The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform, 1914–1939.* Arthur Leon Horniker 163

VALI, FERENC A. *Bridge across the Bosporus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey.* Wilson B. Bishai 164

ASIA

BARNETT, A. DOAK. *A New U.S. Policy toward China.* Peter Van Ness 165

BELLOWS, THOMAS J. *The People's Action Party of Singapore: Emergence of a Dominant Party System.* Cynthia H. Enloe 171

BUSCH, BRITON COOPER. *Britain, India, and the Arabs, 1914–1921.* Don Peretz .. 166

COLE, DAVID C. and PRINCETON N. LYMAN. *Korean Development: The Interplay of Politics and Economics.* Justin Williams 167

COLE, ROBERT E. *Japanese Blue Collar: The Changing Tradition.* Sidney DeVere Brown 168

PAGE

FRANKEL, FRANCINE R. *India's Green Revolution: Economic Gains and Political Costs.* Kusum Nair 169

ISRAEL, JERRY. *Progressivism and the Open Door: America and China, 1905–1921.* Oscar J. Janowsky 170

LARKIN, BRUCE D. *China and Africa, 1949–1970: The Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China.* Warren I. Cohen 173

MOORSTEEN, RICHARD and MORTON ABRAMOWITZ. *Remaking China Policy: U.S.-China Relations and Governmental Decisionmaking.* Peter Van Ness 165

SCHRECKER, JOHN E. *Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism: Germany in Shantung.* Oscar J. Janowsky 169

SIMANDJUNTAK, B. *Malayan Federalism, 1945–1963.* Cynthia H. Enloe 171

SIMMONDS, J. D. *China's World: The Foreign Policy of a Developing State.* Warren I. Cohen 173

EUROPE

DORWART, REINHOLD AUGUST. *The Prussian Welfare State before 1740.* H. G. Reissner 174

FIRESIDE, HARVEY. *Icon and Swastica: The Russian Orthodox Church under Nazi and Soviet Control.* Bohdan R. Bociurkiw 175

HALPERN, PAUL G. *The Mediterranean Naval Situation, 1908–1914.* John Haskell Kemble 176

KUSIN, VLADIMIR V. *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring: The Development of Reformist Ideas in Czechoslovakia, 1956–1967.* Vojtech Mastny 177

O'FARRELL, PATRICK. *Ireland's English Question.* Jesse D. Clarkson 178

RIEKOFF, HAROLD VON. *German-Polish Relations, 1918–1933.* Frederick J. MacDonald 179

SMITH, BRADLEY F. *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making, 1900–1926.* John S. Wozniak 180

STERN, SELMA. *Der Preussische Staat und die Juden: Die Zeit Friedrichs des Grossen.* Vol. 1: *Darstellung;* Vol. 2: *Akten.* H. G. Reissner 174

SVITAK, IVAN. *The Czechoslovak Experiment, 1968–1969.* Vojtech Mastny 177

WHYTE, J. H. *Church and State in Modern Ireland, 1923–1970.* Alfred McClung Lee 181

LATIN AMERICA AND CANADA

LEVINSON, JEROME and JUAN DEONIS. *The Alliance That Lost Its Way: A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress.* Erwina E. Godfrey 184

SHIRLEY, ROBERT W. *The End of a Tradition: Cultural Change and Development in the Município of Cunha, São Paulo, Brazil.* Dauril Alden 182

PAGE

STEPAN, ALFRED. *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil.* Byron White 182

STYCOS, J. MAYONE. *Ideology, Faith, and Family Planning in Latin America: Studies in Public and Private Opinion on Fertility Control.* Clarence Senior 183

WAGNER, R. HARRISON. *United States Policy toward Latin America: A Study in Domestic and International Politics.* Erwina E. Godfrey 184

WINKS, ROBIN. *The Blacks in Canada: A History.* Norman Lederer 185

UNITED STATES

BERTHOFF, ROWLAND. *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History.* Robert Detweiler 186

BOTTOME, EDGAR M. *The Balance of Terror: A Guide to the Arms Race.* John H. E. Fried 187

DENISOFF, R. SERGE. *Great Day Coming: Folk Music and the American Left.* Patricia Averill 189

FORMISANO, RONALD P. *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827–1861.* Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. 189

GULLIVER, HAL and REG MURPHY. *The Southern Strategy.* Donald H. Grubbs ... 194

HUCKSHORN, ROBERT J. and ROBERT C. SPENCER. *The Politics of Defeat: Campaigning for Congress.* John F. Manley 190

JENSEN, RICHARD J. *The Winning of the Midwest, Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896.* Horace Samuel Merrill 191

JOHNSON, LYNDON BAINES. *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969.* Clarence A. Berdahl 192

LUPO, ALAN, FRANK CONCORD, and EDMUND P. FOWLER. *Rites of Way: The Politics of Transportation in Boston and the U.S. City.* James R. Bell 193

MILLER, ROBERT MOATS. *How Shall They Hear without a Preacher: The Life of Ernest Fremont Tittle.* Bruce M. Stephens 194

PANETTA, LEON E. and PETER GALL. *Bring Us Together: The Nixon Team and the Civil Rights Retreat.* Donald H. Grubbs 194

POSSONY, STEFAN T. and J. E. POURNELLE. *The Strategy of Technology: Winning the Decisive War.* John H. E. Fried 187

TUCKER, DAVID M. *Lieutenant Lee of Beale Street.* Ann J. Lane 196

WILCOX, FRANCIS O. *Congress, the Executive, and Foreign Policy.* H. Paul Castleberry 196

POLITICAL THOUGHT AND LAW

ADLER, MORTIMER. *The Common Sense of Politics.* Michael J. Shapiro 198

GLICK, HENRY ROBERT. *Supreme Courts in State Politics: An Investigation of the Judicial Role.* Morris Kominsky 198

PAGE

HELD, VIRGINIA. *The Public Interest and Individual Interests.* Michael J. Shapiro 198

HOHENBERG, JOHN. *Free Press/Free People: The Best Cause.* John E. Stempel .. 199

REVEL, JEAN-FRANCOIS. *Without Marx or Jesus: The New American Revolution Has Begun.* Richard H. Heindel 200

STEAMER, ROBERT J. *The Supreme Court in Crisis: A History of Conflict.* Howard Ball 201

TULLOCK, GORDON. *The Logic of the Law.* Robert G. Seddig 202

SOCIOLOGY

AMIR, MENACHEM. *Patterns in Forcible Rape.* Edward Sagarin 203

BENNETT, JOHN W. *Northern Plainsmen: Adaptive Strategy and Agrarian Life.* Irving Goldman 204

EMPEY, LAMAR T. and STEPHEN G. LUBECK. *The Silverflake Experiment: Testing Delinquency Theory and Community Intervention.* Charles N. Lebeaux 205

GOFFMAN, ERVING. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order.* Kurt W. Back 206

GUTHRIE, JAMES W., GEORGE B. KLEINDORFER, HENRY M. LEVIN, and ROBERT T. STOUT. *Schools and Inequality.* John Van Til 206

KASSEBAUM, GENE, DAVID A. WARD, and DANIEL M. WILNER. *Prison Treatment and Parole Survival: An Empirical Assessment.* John P. Conrad 207

LACHENMEYER, CHARLES W. *The Language of Sociology.* Richard M. Stephenson . 209

MCCARTY, DONALD J. and CHARLES E. RAMSEY. *The School Managers: Power and Conflict in American Public Education.* William H. Cartwright 209

MURPHY, RUSSELL D. *Political Entrepreneurs and Urban Poverty: The Strategies of Policy Innovation in New Haven's Model Anti-Poverty Project.* Joel B. Warren 210

NAGATA, SHUICHI. *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo.* Irving Goldman 204

PARKIN, FRANK. *Class Inequality and Political Order: Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies.* Richard P. Farkas 211

REISS, ALBERT J., JR. *The Police and the Public.* Gilbert Geis 212

RIMLINGER, GASTON V. *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America, and Russia.* C. Hartley Grattan 212

STALLEY, MARSHALL, ed. *Patrick Geddes: Spokesman for Man and the Environment.* Charles S. Ascher 213

STEBBINS, ROBERT A. *Commitment to Deviance: The Nonprofessional Criminal in the Community.* Arthur Lewis Wood 214

ECONOMICS

CLARK, NORMAN H. *Mill Town: A Social History of Everett, Washington, from Its Earliest Beginnings on the Shores of Puget Sound to the Tragic and Infamous Event Known as the Everett Massacre.* Frederick L. Ryan 214

PAGE

DAVIS, LANCE E. and DOUGLAS C. NORTH. *Institutional Change and American Economic Growth.* William G. Whitney 216

HALSEY, A. H. and M. A. TROW. *The British Academics.* Elwood A. Shoemaker .. 217

KAUFMAN, RICHARD F. *The War Profiteers.* Edward S. Herman 218

MARTIN, ALBRO. *Enterprise Denied: Origins of the Decline of American Railroads, 1897–1917.* Donald L. Kemmerer 219

MCLAURIN, MELTON ALONZA. *Paternalism and Protest: Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Organized Labor, 1875–1905.* Frederick L. Ryan 214

O'CONNOR, WILLIAM E. *Economic Regulation of the World's Airlines: A Political Analysis.* Ronald E. Miller 220

REYNOLDS, LLOYD G. *The Three Worlds of Economics.* Arthur Schweitzer 221

ROBERTS, PAUL CRAIG. *Alienation and the Soviet Economy: Toward a General Theory of Marxian Alienation, Organization Principles, and the Soviet Economy.* Nicolas Spulber 222

SCHICK, ALLEN. *Budget Innovation in the States.* Marian E. Ridgeway 223

WEISSKOPF, WALTER A. *Alienation and Economics.* Richard B. Du Boff 224

INDEX

INDEX

Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud, 66, 67, 69, 112
Abdallah al-Salim Al Sabah, Amir, 112
Abdel Nasser, Gamal, 72, 114, 121, 124, 125, 128, 132, 133, 134, 138
Abdul Hamid, 8
Abu Dhabi, 34, 35, 41, 108, 111, 113, 114
Abu Musa, 108, 115
Acheson, Dean G., 47, 50, 51, 52, 75–84 passim, 101, 104, 105
Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department, 75, 76, 83
Adams administration, 3
ADAMS, T. W., The American Concern in Cyprus, 95–105
Ajman, 111, 114
AKEL, 96, 102
Ala, Hussein, 49
Algeria, 2, 3, 34–37 passim, 57–62 passim, 115, 118, 135, 137, 138
Allen, George V., 49
Allies, World War II, 46
Al-Hikma University, 20
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 16–18
American Board of the Congregational Church, 17
American Chamber of Commerce for the Near East, 11
AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL AND MISSIONARY EFFORTS IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES, Bayard Dodge, 15–22
American Friends, 18
American University of Beirut, 20, 21, 22
American University in Cairo, 21
American Zionist Emergency Council, 66
Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 67–68
Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 38, 51
Aqaba, Gulf of, 89, 121
Arab Confederation, 140
Arab-Israel quarrel, 40, 64–73 passim, 86, 88, 89, 116–25, 127–35 passim, 139–40, 142
cease-fire (1970), 124–25
and cold war between U.S. and USSR, 117, 127–135 passim
June War, 1967, 40, 120, 133
Suez War, 1956, 40, 72, 89
and U.S. Middle East policy, 53–54, 65–73 passim, 86, 88–89, 94, 116–25, 139–40, 142
U.S. peace efforts, 70, 71, 72, 116–25, 134, 135, 140
and the USSR, 132, 133, 134, 139
Arab League Council, 68
Arab nationalism, 127, 132, 133, 139
Arab refugees, 88–89, 117–25 passim
Arab shaykhdoms, 106–115
Arab-U.S. relations, 86, 117–25, 127, 130, 137–42 passim
Armenian massacres, 11–12, 18, 19
Armenians, 8, 10, 11–12, 16–19 passim
Arms race, 117, 122–23, 124, 129, 135
Arnold, William H., 80–81
Aswan Dam, 72, 89, 128
Ataturk, 82
Attlee, Clement, 67, 68
Austin, Warren, 79, 117
Azerbaijan Crisis, 47–49

Badeau, John, 118
Baghdad (CENTO) Pact, 47, 53–55, 86–88, 89, 92–93, 94, 131
Baghdad College, 20
Bahrain, 35, 37, 109–115 passim
Balance of power, 127, 129, 130, 137
Balkan Entente, 86
Ball, George, 100, 101, 103–104
Barbary pirates, 2–3, 4, 24
BARGER, THOMAS C., Middle Eastern Oil since the Second World War, 31–44
Barton, James L., 19
Bassett, James, 17
Ba'thist party, 133, 137
Belgrave, Charles, 113
Ben Bella, Ahmed, 59
Ben-Gurion, David, 72, 119–20
Berlin crisis, 81
Bernadotte, Folke, 70
Bevin, Ernest, 69
Big Three Moscow conference, 47–48
Bilateral agreement of 1959 (U.S. and Iran) 47, 54–55
Bird, Isaac, 16
Black, Hugo, 118
Black Sea, 3, 130
Black Sea Powers, 77
Bliss, Daniel, 21
Boumedienne, Houari, 59, 135
Bourguiba, Habib, 58–59
Bristol, Mark L., 12
Britain, *see* Great Britain
British Forces Arabian Peninsula–British Forces Gulf Command, 110
British Foreign Office, 108–111
British Petroleum Company, 138
British Sovereign Base Areas (on Cyprus), 98
Bulgaria, 6–7, 141

Bulgarian Horrors, 7
Byrnes, James F., 47–49
Byroade, Henry A., 71

Cabinett Committee on Palestine, U.S., 68
Cairo, Egypt, 24
Calhoun, Simeon, 17
Calverley, Eleanor T., 18–19
Campbell, John C., 99
CAMPBELL, JOHN C., The Soviet Union and the United States in the Middle East, 126–35
Casablanca riots, 59
"Cash and Carry," 25
Casoc, 27–28
Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), 86–88, 90, 93, 94
  See also Baghdad Pact
Chamoun, Camille, 91
Chester, Colby M., 10
Chester concession, 9, 11, 24
Churchill, Winston, 25–26, 28, 49
Civil War and Reconstruction, American, 5, 7–8
Cleveland administration, 8
Commerce, U.S.
  with the Near East, 1–14
Commitments abroad, U.S. policy on, 57, 58, 135, 138–39
Committee on Foreign Affairs (House), 24
Communism
  spread of into Greece, 75
  see also USSR, communist influence in the Middle East
Congo crisis (1960–61), 62
Congressmen, U.S., 123
Constantinople College for Women, 21
Crete, 6
Cypriot Greek National Guard, 102
Cyprus, 95–105, 131–32, 141–42

Defense, Department of, U.S., 82, 141
Denktash, Rauf, 105
Dewey, Thomas E., 68–69
Division of Near Eastern Affairs, 11
Dodd, William S., 19
DODGE, BAYARD, American Educational and Missionary Efforts in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, 31–44
Dorr, Russell H., 82
Dubai, 35, 111, 114
Dulles, John Foster, 53–54, 71, 72, 86–92 passim, 118
Dutch Reform Mission, 18
Dwight, Harrison, 16

East India Company, 108
Eaton, William, 3
Eban, Abba, 89
Eckford, Henry, 4
Economic Assistance Program for Turkey, 82
Economic Recovery Act, 81
Egypt, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16–21 passim, 25, 29, 62, 72, 87, 89, 91, 121, 123, 124, 128, 130–40 passim
  oil production in, 35–44 passim
  U.S. relations with, 5, 6, 7, 13, 72, 87, 89, 91, 121, 124, 125, 128, 130, 134
Eisenhower administration, 52–54, 71, 73, 85–94 passim
Eisenhower Doctrine, 54, 85–94 passim
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 52–54, 72, 85–94 passim, 127
England, *see* Great Britain
Enosis, 96–98
EOKA, 96, 97
Erim, Nihat, 104
Evenhandedness, 73, 117–25 passim

Fatemi, Hossein, 52
FIELD, JAMES A., JR., Trade, Skills, and Sympathy: The First Century and a Half of Commerce with the Near East, 1–14
Fisk, Pliny, 16
Foot, Hugh, 96
Foreign Affairs, 82
Foreign policy, U.S.
  and containment of the USSR in the Middle East, 45–55, 75, 135, 136–42
  and Cyprus, 95–105 passim
  and early commercial interests, 2, 5
  in North Africa, 56–63
  World War II, 23–30 passim
Forrestal, James, 50, 69, 76, 82
France, 71, 72, 89, 111–12, 128
French colonial rule in the Maghrib, 57, 58
French-Tunisian Accords (June 1955), 58
Fulbright, J. William, 100, 103–4
"Full consultation" formula, 66–67, 68
Fujayrah, 111

Gallman, Waldemar J., 53
Gaza raid (February 28, 1955), 72
Gaza Strip, 72, 89
Germany
  WWI, 12
Ghavam Saltaneh, 49
Glassboro, New Jersey, 122
Goodall, William, 16
Grady, Henry F., 68
Grant, Asahal, 16
Great Britain
  and Cyprus, 95–105
  and Egypt, 8, 25, 71, 72, 89, 128, 130
  and Greece, 50, 75–78, 84
  and Iran, 26, 27, 52
  and Jordan, 92
  and the Palestine question, 65, 67–68, 70

and Turkey, 5, 50, 75–78, 84
U.S. relations in the Middle East, 3, 13, 14, 25–28, 52, 64–73 passim, 75, 95–105 passim, 112, 130
withdrawal from the Persian Gulf, 106–115
World War II Middle East involvement, 25–29
Greece, 3, 47, 50, 75–78, 84, 86, 90, 95–105, 127, 130, 137, 139, 141–42
U.S. relations with, 50–51, 77–84 passim, 139–42
Greek Cypriots, 95–105
Greek revolt, 3, 4
Grivas, George, 96, 102–3

Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifah, 113
Hamlin, Cyrus, 19, 21
HARE, RAYMOND A., The Great Divide: World War II, 23–30
Harkness, Richard, and Gladys Harkness, 52
Harrison, Paul W., 18
HART, PARKER T., Preface, ix; Where We Stand, 136–42
Hasan al-Ridha, 60
Henderson, Loy, 75, 76, 77, 80, 84, 91
Herter, Christian A., 93
Hickerson, John D., 76
Hot Line, 121
HOWARD, HARRY N., The Regional Pacts and the Eisenhower Doctrine, 85–94
Hughes, Charles Evans, 24
Hull, Cordell, 65
Huntington, Samuel, 61
HUREWITZ, J. C., The Persian Gulf: British Withdrawal and Western Security, 106–115
Hussein I, King, 140
Hussein ibn Talal, 90

Ickes, Harold, 28
Idris I, 58–63
Immigration
Jewish into Palestine, 66
India, 87
India, British, 108–13
Indonesia, 34–44 passim
Inonu, Ismet, 101
International College, 20
Inverchapel, Henry, 75, 76
Iran, 5, 26–27, 45–55, 86, 88, 90, 92–93, 108, 113, 114–15, 130
oil crisis of 1951–53, 47, 51–53
oil production in, 39–44 passim, 49, 53, 132
relations with Iraq, 131
U.S. relations with, 5, 13, 22, 26, 27, 45–55, 90, 92–93, 127, 131, 132, 139–42
Iraq, 13, 18, 34–44 passim, 53, 54, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 108, 112, 113, 118, 128, 131, 133
Ismail, Khedive, 7–8
Israel-Arab relations, *see* Arab-Israel quarrel
Israel, State of, 64–73, 86, 116–25, 132–35
U.S. aid to and relations with, 64–73 passim, 121, 123, 124, 127, 134, 137, 139–40
Istiqlal party, 59, 62
Italy, 112

Jarring, Gunnar, 124, 134
Jefferson administration, 2
Jernegan, John D., 80
Jerusalem, 88–89, 117, 124
Jewish Agency for Palestine, 69
Jewish displaced persons, 67–68
Jewish National Home, 24, 64–73
Jews
Nazi annihilation of, 65–66
Jews, American, 65–68 passim
Jiddah, Treaty of, 112
Johnson administration, 118–23 passim
Johnson, Joseph E., 119–20
Johnson, Lyndon B., 98–105 passim, 118–19, 120–23
Johnston, Eric, 71, 89
Joint American Military Mission for Assistance to Turkey, 80–81
Joint Resolution to Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East, 55, 93
Jones, Joseph Marion, 77, 83
The Fifteen Weeks (February 21–June 5, 1947), 83
Jordanian-Iraqi Federation, 91
Jordan River, 71, 89
Jordan, 90, 91, 92, 118, 119, 129, 140
Jufayr, 110, 111, 115

Kennan, George F., 49
Kennedy administration, 118–21 passim
Kennedy, John F., 118–19, 121
Khalil, Muhammad, 87, 90
Khartoum conference (1967), 124
Khrushchev, Nikita S., 127–33 passim
Knesset, 119–20
Kosygin, Aleksei, 121–22
Kuchuk, Fazil, 96
Kurdish regimes (Kurdistan), 47–49
Kuwait, 34–40 passim, 108–13 passim

Lansdowne, Lord, 110, 114
Lausanne Conference (1922), 13, 24
Lebanon, 90, 91, 92, 118, 119
Lemnitzer, Lyman L., 100, 103–4
LENCZOWSKI, GEORGE, United States' Support for Iran's Independence and Integrity, 1945–1959, 45–55
Lend-Lease Act, 25
LEWIS, WILLIAM H., North Africa: Calculus of Policy, 56–63
Libya, 34–44 passim, 56–63, 137, 138, 140

Low profile, 24, 99, 105, 139, 142
Luce, William, 114

McBride, Horace, 80
MacGahan, J. A., 7
McGhee, George C., 52, 80, 82
Macmillan, Harold, 53, 54
McNaughton, John, 140
Maghrib, 56–63, 138, 142
Mahmud II, 4, 5
Makarios III, Archbishop, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102
Malta Press, 16
Marshall, George C., 50, 66, 75, 76, 81, 82, 84
Marshall Plan, 81
Maxwell, Russell, 26
Mediterranean
  Soviet naval expansion in, 128–30
Mehemet Ali, 5, 7
Meir, Golda, 123, 124
Middle East Command (MEC), 86
Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO), 86
MIDDLE EASTERN OIL SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR, Thomas C. Barger, 31–44
Middle East Supply Center (MESC), 25–26
Millspaugh, Arthur, 13, 27
Ministry of War Transport, 26
Missionaries, U.S.
  connections with the Near East, 2, 15–22
Mohammed Ghazi, 47
Morgenthau, Henry, 12
Morocco, 2, 57–62 passim
Morrison-Grady plan, 68
Mossadegh, Mohamed, 51–53, 130
Muhammad V, 57–59
Multinational corporation, in the Near East, 13
Musqat, 3, 108, 111, 112
Mutual Assistance Act (1954), 87, 93
Mutual Defense Act of 1949, 81
Mutual Security Acts (1953, 1954), 83, 89
Mutual Security Program, 83

Najd, 109, 112
Nasser, *see* Abdel Nasser
Nationalist movements
  in North Africa, 58
National Liberation Front, 59, 62
National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA), 96, 97
Navy, U.S., 29, 24, 111
Near East Relief, 12, 19
Neo-Destour party, 59, 62
New York Times, 115
Nixon Doctrine, 105, 132
Nixon, Richard M., 29, 105, 117–18, 123
Norstad, Lauris, 76
North Africa
  declining strategic military importance, 60–61
  failure to unite regionally, 62
  oil production and mineral resources, 61, 107
  U.S. commitments in, 56–63
NORTH AFRICA: CALCULUS OF POLICY, William H. Lewis, 56–63
North Atlantic Council, 81
North Atlantic Treaty, 81
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 81, 86, 90, 91, 95–104 passim, 130, 131, 132, 137–42 passim
Northern Tier states, 86–88, 130, 131, 132, 139–42
Numayri, Jaafar, 135

Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, 75, 81
Oil
  production and reserves, Middle East and U.S. compared, Table 1, 33
  supply crisis of 1956, 32
  U.S. import policy, 33, 107
  world production and reserves, 1946–1971, Table 2, 34
  see also Oil, Middle Eastern
Oil companies, U.S., 13
Oil, Middle Eastern, 13–14, 27, 28, 31–44, 49, 50–52, 53, 61, 107–14 passim, 127, 130, 132, 134, 137
  and government revenues, 36–39, 137
  importance to Western Europe and Japan, 32, 36, 40, 42–43, 61, 107, 113, 114
  in Iran, 49, 50–52, 53
  producing companies and concessions, 41–42
  production and reserves, 1951–1971, Table 3, 35
  production, future estimates of, 1970–1975, Table 4, 36
  U.S. investments in, 13, 61, 107, 127, 130, 137
Oman, 35, 108, 111, 112, 115
Open Door, 10, 12
Opium trade, 3, 4
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 34, 35, 38–42 passim
Ottoman-American Development Company, 10
Ottoman Empire, 3–14 passim
Oued Zem massacres, 59

Pakistan, 53, 54, 87, 88, 92–93
Palestine problem, 24, 64–73, 88–89, 117–25 passim, 142
Papadopoulos, George, 141
Papandreou, George, 141
Parsons, Levi, 16
Partition resolution (Palestine), 69, 70
Patterson, Robert, 50, 76
PERETZ, DON, The United States, the Arabs, and Israel: Peace Efforts of Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, 116–25

Persia, 5, 9, 11, 12, 108–9
see also Iran
Persian Gulf, 36, 106–115
Persian Gulf Command, 26
Pickering, Timothy, 3
Pishevari, Jaafar, 47
Phantom jets, U.S., 123, 132, 141
Piracy, 2–3, 24, 109, 113
Point Four Program, 50–51
Porter, David, 4
Potsdam agreement, 46, 47
Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 17
Public Law 75, U.S., 78, 79
Public Roads Administration, U.S., 82

Qadhdhafi, 135, 138
Qatar, 34–44 passim, 109, 111, 113, 114

Ras al-Khaymah, 108, 111, 114
Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, 18
Reza Shah Pahlavi, Mohammed, 51–55 passim
Rhodes, Foster, 4
Richards, James P., 90
Robert, Christopher R., 21
Robert College, 7, 19, 21
Rockhill, William W., 10
Rogers Plan, 140
Rogers, William, 124
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 25–6, 28, 57, 66
Lend-Lease Act, 25
Rusk, Dean, 120, 123
Russia, 11
see also USSR

Sadak, Necmettin, 81–82
Sadat, Anwar, 125, 134, 135
Saka, Hasan, 79
SATTERTHWAITE, JOSEPH C., The Truman Doctrine: Turkey, 74–84
Saudi Arabia, 27–28, 34–44 passim, 87, 90, 108, 112, 113, 114, 118
Schuyler, Eugene, 7
Schwartzkopf, H. Norman, 40–51
Sharjah, 108, 110, 111
Sherman, Forrest, 76
Shuster, W. Morgan, 11, 26–27
Silver, Abba Hillel, 66
Sinai Peninsula, 72, 89, 121
Sisco, Joseph, 124, 125
Sixth Fleet, U.S., 121, 129, 130, 139
Smith, Eli, 16, 17
Smyrna, 3, 4
Soviet Union, *see* USSR
Stalin, Joseph, 46–49 passim, 127, 130, 131
State Department, U.S., 7, 10, 11, 24, 53, 65, 66, 69, 75–83 passim, 88, 91, 92, 105, 120
Stevenson, Adlai E., 99
Stimson, Henry L., 66
Stone, Charles P., 7
Stuart, George C., 81
Sudan, 137, 138
Suez Canal, 40, 72, 89, 125, 134
crisis of 1956, 33, 40, 72, 89, 128, 131
Syria and Syrians, 10, 12, 62, 87, 90–91, 115, 123, 128–40 passim
Syrian-Egyptian relations, 62, 133
Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, 21
Syria-USSR relations, 133, 137

Taft administration, 10, 11
Talbot, Phillips, 142
Tangier Conference (April 1958), 62
Tehran agreement (1971), 46, 108
Temple, Daniel, 16
Thant, U, 101
THE AMERICAN CONCERN IN CYPRUS, T. W. Adams, 95–105
THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE PALESTINE QUESTION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL, Evan M. Wilson, 64–73
THE GREAT DIVIDE: WORLD WAR II, Raymond A. Hare, 23–30
THE PERSIAN GULF: BRITISH WITHDRAWAL AND WESTERN SECURITY, J. C. Hurewitz, 106–115
THE REGIONAL PACTS AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE, Harry N. Howard, 85–94
THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, John C. Campbell, 126–35
THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE: TURKEY, Joseph C. Satterthwaite, 74–84
THE UNITED STATES, THE ARABS, AND ISRAEL: PEACE EFFORTS OF KENNEDY, JOHNSON, AND NIXON, Don Peretz, 116–25
Third World, 58, 105, 128, 129
Tibawi, Abdul Latif, 17
Tiran, Strait of, 72, 89
TRADE, SKILLS, AND SYMPATHY: THE FIRST CENTURY AND A HALF OF COMMERCE WITH THE NEAR EAST, James A. Field, Jr., 1–14
Treaties, U.S., commercial, 2–14 passim
Treaty of Guarantee (Cyprus), 97, 101
Tripartite Anglo-American-Soviet Declaration of Tehran, 27
Tripartite Declaration (U.S.-British-French, 1950), 86
Tripoli, 2, 3, 7
Trucial Coast, 109–110
Trucial Oman Scouts (Union Defense Force), 110–111
Trucial tribalities (shaykhdoms), 106–115 passim
Truman Doctrine, 29, 50, 54, 57–58, 73, 74–84, 89, 94, 103
Truman, Harry S, 29, 47–52 passim, 66–70, 75–84 passim

Memoirs: Years of Trial and Hope, 77, 79, 83
Tudeh party, 46, 51–52
Tunbs, 108, 115
Tunis and Tunisia, 2, 7, 35, 57–62 passim
Turkey, 3–14 passim, 17, 50–51, 54, 75–84, 86, 87, 90–105 passim, 127, 130, 131, 132, 139–142
Turkish Aid Program, U.S., 79–82
Turkish Cypriots, 95–105
Turkish-Greek relations, 3, 95–105 passim, 141, 142
Turkish Straits, 47, 77, 130, 140
Turko-Iraqi Pact of Mutual Co-operation, 87
Turko-Pakistani agreement (April 2, 1954), 87

Umm al-Qaywayn, 111, 114
Union of Arab Amirates, 114
United Arab Republic, 91, 114–15, 133
United Kingdom, *see* Great Britain
United Nations, 46, 48, 49, 69–72 passim, 79, 87, 88, 96, 99–102 passim, 105, 115, 116–125 passim
  Charter of, 54, 87, 90, 92, 93
  Conciliation Commission for Palestine, 70–71, 119
  General Assembly resolution 194, 120
  Relief and Works Agency, 120
  Security Council resolution 242, 122, 123–24, 133–34
United Nations Palestine Commission, 69
United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), 69
United Presbyterian Church of North America, 18
United States relations
  with Great Britain, 3, 13, 14, 25–28, 52, 64–73 passim, 75, 95–105 passim, 112, 130
  with the Middle East, *see* individual countries; Arab; Maghrib; North Africa; Northern Tier; Persian Gulf
  with the USSR, 29–30, 45–55, 87, 90–91, 117–125 passim, 126–135
UNITED STATES' SUPPORT FOR IRAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY, 1945–1959, George Lenczowski, 45–55
USSR
  Arab relations, 117, 121, 127, 131, 132–35, 137, 139–40
  communist influence in the Middle East, 45–55, 75–76, 86, 88, 90–91, 93, 96, 98, 126–135, 136–42 passim
  and Cyprus, 96, 101, 102, 131–32
  Egyptian relations and arms deal, 5, 29, 72, 121, 123, 124, 128, 131–40 passim
  foreign policy, 127–35 passim
  and Iran, 26, 27, 45–55, 88, 127, 131, 132, 137, 142
  Middle East involvements, 43, 62, 72, 75–76, 86, 87, 88, 90–91, 107, 115, 117–125 passim, 126–135, 136–142
  military build-up, 128–130
  and the Northern Tier, 131–32
  post-World War II expansionist policies, 45–55, 75, 77, 107, 115, 126–135 passim
  relations with Turkey, 75–77, 91, 104, 127, 131–32, 137
  and Syria, 133, 137
  U.S. relations with, 29–30, 45–55, 87, 90–91, 117–25 passim, 126–35

Vance, Cyrus, 102, 141
Vandenberg, Arthur, 76, 78, 79, 84
Van Dyck, Cornelius, 17, 19
Venezuela, 34, 38, 40, 43
Vietnam War, 32

Wallace, Lew, 8
Warne, William E., 51
Washington administration, 2
Washington, George, 24
Weizmann, Chaim, 70
West Bank (Jordan), 120
WHERE WE STAND, Parker T. Hart, 136–42
White Paper of 1939, British, 66
Wilson, Edwin C., 79, 81
WILSON, EVAN M., The American Interest in the Palestine Question and the Establishment of Israel, 64–73
Wilson's Fourteen Points, 12
Wilson, Woodrow, 12, 65
Winant, Frederick, 26
Wise, Stephen S., 66
World War I
  U.S. involvement, 11–12
World War II
  and U.S. involvement in the Middle East, 25–30

Yalta agreement, 46
Yemen, People's Democratic Republic of, 115, 133, 138
Yost, Charles W., 105
Yugoslavia, 86

Zahedi, Fazlollah, 52
Zionists, Zionism, 11, 13, 14, 65–73 passim, 86, 118
Zurich-London agreements (on Cyprus), 96–98, 104

VOLUME 402 JULY 1972

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy *of* Political
and Social Science

RICHARD D. LAMBERT, *Editor*
ALAN W. HESTON, *Assistant Editor*

CHINA IN THE WORLD TODAY

Special Editor of This Volume
RICHARD D. LAMBERT
Chairman, Department of South Asia Regional Studies
Professor of Sociology
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA

© 1972, by THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 72-78295

The articles appearing in THE ANNALS are indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, the *Book Review Index*, the *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin*, and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences*. They are also abstracted and indexed in *ABC Pol Sci*, *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604. Cost per year $12.00 paper-bound; $16.00 clothbound. Second-class postage paid at Lancaster and at additional mailing offices.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
FOREWORD	*Richard D. Lambert*	ix
CHINESE HISTORY AND THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY CHINA	*Albert Feuerwerker*	1
RECENT CHANGES IN CHINESE SOCIETY	*Donald R. DeGlopper*	15
MAOISM AS A WORLD FORCE	*John F. Melby*	26
DOMESTIC CONSTRAINTS ON ALTERNATIVE CHINESE MILITARY POLICIES AND STRATEGIES IN THE 1970S	*William W. Wilson*	40
THE USE OF FORCE IN FOREIGN POLICY BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA	*Allen S. Whiting*	55
POLITICAL TRENDS IN CHINA SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION	*Harry Harding*	67
CHINA AFTER NIXON	*Jonathan Mirsky*	83
CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES: A NEW PHASE	*Lucian W. Pye*	97
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS IN CHINA	*Alexander Eckstein*	107
SUPPLEMENT		
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY IN AMERICAN PARTIES AND ELECTIONS, 1967–1971: A BRIEF ANNOTATION	*Hugh A. Bone*	117
REPORT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR 1971		131
BOOK DEPARTMENT		136
INDEX		211

BOOK DEPARTMENT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BARNDS, WILLIAM J. *India, Pakistan, and the Great Powers.* Stephen P. Cohen .. 136

BLACKABY, FRANK et al. *The Arms Trade with the Third World.* Roy V. Peel .. 137

JESSUP, PHILIP C. *The Price of International Justice.* David T. Cattell 138

KALB, MARVIN and ELIE ABEL. *Roots of Involvement: The U.S. in Asia, 1784–1971.* Surjit Mansingh 139

MCGEEHAN, ROBERT. *The German Rearmament Question: American Diplomacy and European Defense after World War II.* Henry L. Bretton 140

NYE, J. S. *Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization.* David R. Weaver 141

VITAL, DAVID. *The Survival of Small States: Studies in Small Power-Great Power Conflict.* David R. Weaver 141

ASIA

AMUZEGAR, JAHANGIR and M. ALI FEKRAT. *Iran: Economic Development under Dualistic Condition.* Alan W. Heston 142

BHARIER, JULIAN. *Economic Development in Iran, 1900–1970.* Alan W. Heston . 142

EMMERSON, JOHN K. *Arms, Yen, and Power: The Japanese Dilemma.* Douglas H. Mendel, Jr. 144

FRANDA, MARCUS F. *Radical Politics in West Bengal.* David Kopf 145

LIU, ALAN P.L. *Communications and National Integration in Communist China.* Albert E. Kane 146

MAH, FENG-HWA. *The Foreign Trade of Mainland China.* Charles Hoffmann .. 147

MERILLAT, H. C. L. *Land and the Constitution in India.* Marc Galanter 147

MYRDAL, GUNNAR. *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations.* James S. Milne 148

NEWELL, RICHARD S. *The Politics of Afghanistan.* Craig Baxter 149

SCHNEIDER, LAURENCE A. *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History: Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions.* W. Allyn Rickett 150

YOUNG, ARTHUR N. *China's Nation-Building Effort, 1927–1937: The Financial and Economic Record.* Alan P.L. Liu 151

ZONIS, MARVIN. *The Political Elite of Iran.* Alan W. Heston 142

PAGE

EUROPE

COWLING, MAURICE. *The Impact of Labour, 1920–1924.* Frank Bealey 152

GREENBERG, LOUIS M. *Sisters of Liberty: Marseille, Lyon, Paris and the Reaction to a Centralized State, 1868–1871.* Jonathan E. Helmreich 153

HARRISON, JOHN A. *The Founding of the Russian Empire in Asia and America.* Daniel Balmuth 153

JOWITT, KENNETH. *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944–1965.* Robin Alison Remington 154

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR PEACE THROUGH LAW MILITARY SPENDING COMMITTEE. *The Economics of Defense: A Bipartisan Review of Military Spending.* Murray S. Stedman, Jr. 155

NEWHOUSE, JOHN. *U.S. Troops in Europe: Issues, Costs, and Choices.* Murray S. Stedman, Jr. 155

NIEWYK, DONALD L. *Socialist, Anti-Semite, and Jew: German Social Democracy Confronts the Problem of Anti-Semitism, 1918–1933.* Ben Halpern 156

SMITH, DENIS MACK. *Victor Emanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento.* Howard James Burgwin, Jr. 157

SWARTZ, MARVIN. *The Union of Democratic Control in British Politics during the First World War.* Frank Bealey 152

UNITED STATES

BARBER, JAMES ALDEN, JR. *Social Mobility and Voting Behavior.* Bruce Unger .. 158

EDWARDS, JEROME E. *The Foreign Policy of Col. McCormick's Tribune, 1929–1941.* F. B. Marbut 159

FRIESEMA, H. PAUL. *Metropolitan Political Structure: Intergovernmental Relations and Political Structure in the Quad-Cities.* Nelson Wikstrom 166

JOHNSON, RICHARD A. *The Administration of United States Foreign Policy.* Willard Barber 160

KOLKO, JOYCE and GABRIEL KOLKO. *The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945–1954.* Marian D. Irish 161

LEVITAN, SAR A. and BARBARA HETRICK. *Big Brother's Indian Programs—With Reservations.* Arthur H. Derosier, Jr. 162

LOWITT, RICHARD. *George W. Norris: The Persistence of a Progressive, 1913–1933.* George Osborn 163

PAGE

MORGAN, WILLIAM JAMES, ed. *Naval Documents of the American Revolution.* Vol. 5. Ralph Adams Brown 164

MURPHY, PAUL L. *The Constitution in Crisis Times, 1918–1969.* Martin L. Fausold 165

PARRIS, GUICHARD and LESTER BROOKS. *Blacks in the City: A History of the National Urban League.* Benjamin Quarles 166

SCHMANDT, HENRY J., JOHN C. GOLDBACH, and DONALD B. VOGEL. *Milwaukee: A Contemporary Urban Profile.* Nelson Wikstrom 166

VOGLER, DAVID J. *The Third House: Conference Committees in the United States Congress.* Charles Serns 168

WIECEK, WILLIAM M. *The Guarantee Clause of the U.S. Constitution.* C. Gordon Post 169

OTHER WORLD AREAS

AGOR, WESTON H. *The Chilean Senate: Internal Distribution of Influence.* Lucy C. Behrman 170

AZIKIWE, NNAMDI. *An Autobiography: My Odyssey.* Leslie Rubin 174

BELL, JOHN PATRICK. *Crisis in Costa Rica: The Revolution of 1948.* John E. Findling 170

DANIEL, ROBERT L. *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820–1960.* Harry N. Howard 171

FOSTER, PHILIP and ARISTIDE R. ZOLBERG, eds. *Ghana and the Ivory Coast: Perspectives on Modernization.* Robin Luckham 172

LUCKHAM, ROBIN. *The Nigerian Military: A Sociological Analysis of Authority and Revolt, 1960–1967.* Barbara Callaway 173

OMARI, I. PETER. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship.* Leslie Rubin 174

STEWART, WALTER. *Trudeau in Power.* M. S. Whittington 175

POLITICAL THEORY AND METHOD

HALLE, LOUIS J. *The Ideological Imagination.* Philip W. Buck 176

HIRSCH, HERBERT. *Poverty and Politicization: Political Socialization in an American Subculture.* Charles A. Ekstrom 177

HOWARD, NIGEL. *Paradoxes of Rationality: Theory of Metagames and Political Behavior.* Kenneth Fuchs 178

PAGE

LANDES, DAVID S. and CHARLES TILLY, eds. *History as Social Science.* Edward T. Gargan 178

MATHIESEN, THOMAS. *Across the Boundaries of Organizations.* Charles E. Jacob 179

ODEGARD, HOLTAN P. *The Politics of Truth: Toward Reconstruction in Democracy.* Thomas I. Cook 180

PATTANAIK, PRASANTA K. *Voting and Collective Choice.* Donald S. Lutz 181

WATSON, PATTY JO, STEVEN A. LEBLANC, and CHARLES L. REDMAN. *Explanation in Archaeology: An Explicitly Scientific Approach.* James B. Pritchard 182

SOCIOLOGY

EMPEY, LAMAR T., STEVEN G. LUBECK, and RONALD L. LAPORTE. *Explaining Delinquency: Constructing, Test and Reformulation of a Sociological Theory.* Milton L. Barron 182

FELDSTEIN, STANLEY. *Once a Slave: The Slaves' View of Slavery.* Thorsten Sellin 183

GORDON, GEORGE N. *Persuasion: The Theory and Practice of Manipulative Communication.* Edward L. Bernays 184

HALL, GWENDOLYN MIDLO. *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba.* Thorsten Sellin 183

HILL, REUBEN, et al. *Family Development in Three Generations: A Longitudinal Study of Changing Family Patterns of Planning and Achievement.* Edna M. O'Hern 185

LADNER, JOYCE. *Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman.* M. Elaine Burgess .. 186

MARTINDALE, DON and EDITH MARTINDALE. *The Social Dimensions of Mental Illness, Alcoholism, and Drug Dependence.* Georgios Pan. Piperopoulos 187

NASH, DENNISON. *A Community in Limbo: An Anthropological Study of an American Community Abroad.* William Wilson Lambert 188

POWELL, ELWIN H. *The Design of Discord: Studies of Anomie.* Daniel N. Robinson 189

RHEINSTEIN, MAX. *Marriage Stability, Divorce, and the Law.* Evelyn Millis Duvall 190

ROTHMAN, DAVID J. *The Discovery of Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Thorsten Sellin 191

STREIB, GORDON F. and CLEMENT J. SCHNEIDER. *Retirement in American Society: Impact and Process.* Otto Pollak 192

WILLIAMS, COLIN J. and MARTIN S. WEINBERG. *Homosexuals and the Military: A Study of Less-than-Honorable Discharge.* John P. Clark 193

PAGE

ECONOMICS

BAKER, ROBERT F. *The Highway Risk Problem: Policy Issues in Highway Safety.* George Fox Mott 197

BECKFORD, GEORGE L. *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World.* Jay R. Mandle 194

BRADBURN, NORMAN M., SEYMOUR SUDMAN, and GALEN L. GOKEL. *Side by Side: Integrated Neighborhoods in America.* Charles S. Ascher 195

FRIED, JOSEPH P. *Housing Crisis, U.S.A.* Charles S. Ascher 195

KEVIN, ALLEN and M. C. MACLENNAN. *Regional Problems and Policies in Italy and France.* Solomon Barkin 196

O'CONNELL, JEFFREY. *The Injury Industry: And the Remedy of No-Fault Insurance.* George Fox Mott 197

POWELSON, JOHN P. *Institutions of Economic Growth: A Theory of Conflict Management in Developing Countries.* Colin D. Campbell 198

ROSTOW, W. W. *Politics and the Stages of Growth.* B. F. Hoselitz 199

WALKER, HUGH D. *Market Power and Price Levels in the Ethical Drug Industry.* John P. Curran 200

INDEX

Aird, John S., 111, 112
Anthropology, in China, 89–90

Balance of power, 10, 73–79 passim, 102–105
Black Panthers, 11
Brinton, Crane, 68, 76, 81
Buckley, William F., Jr., 51–52

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), U.S., 58, 58 n. 14, 61
Chang Ch'un ch'iao, 69 n. 3, 93
Ch'en Po-ta, 48, 68, 69 n. 3, 71
Chiang Ch'ing, 69 n. 3
Chiang Kai-shek and regime, 56, 101
CHINA AFTER NIXON, Jonathan Mirsky, 83–96
CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES: A NEW PHASE, Lucian W. Pye, 97–106
China, People's Republic of, 1–116
  communes, collectivization, and land reform, 21, 71, 79–80
    brigades and production teams, 18–22, 71
    landlords, 18, 34
    work points, 19, 23–24, 94
  cultural exchange and visits to, 12, 87, 92–93, 96, 106
  economy, 9, 13–14, 58, 77, 80, 107–116
    agricultural policy, 70–71, 74–75, 115
    communication and trade, 109–10, 112
    decentralization and self-reliance, 90–91, 116
    development compared to U.S., USSR, Japan, and India, 108–109, 113, 114
    gross national product, 110–13, Table 1, 111
    income per capita base, 108
    income and wages, 19–20, 21, 24, 71, 85, 86, 90, 114
    and military resources, 45–50
    per capita product base, 109, Table 1, 111
    policy on, 37, 42, 69, 70, 76, 114, 115
    population growth and, 17, 20, 108, 109, Table 1, 111
    prices, 92
    property, 17, 19, 21, 23–24, 71
    revolutionary pragmatism, 70–71, 74, 79
    and size factors, 108–110
    statistical data on, 110–114
    taxes and grain quotas, 20
    see also China, People's Republic of—communes *and* industrialization; Great Leap Forward
  education and universities, 12, 18, 22, 87–89, 90, 91
  foreign policy
    and anti-imperialism, 5, 6, 7, 29
    and change in leadership, 64
    determining influences on, 1–14
    and domestic concerns, 5, 9–10, 13–14, 33, 40–54, 106; *see also* China, People's Republic of—economy *and* political power
    Grand Design (of Chou En-lai), 73, 74, 75, 78–79, 80
    and history/tradition, 2–5
    and Hong Kong Crisis (1967), 57, 61–63
    and ideology, 9–10, 12–13
    and India (1962), 56–59 passim
    and Japan, 6, 7, 8, 42, 44–45, 51, 74, 77, 80
    and Korea (1950), 56, 57–59
    and Laos (1964), 56–57, 59–60
    and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 58, 60, 62, 63
    and nationalism, 5–8, 11
    and road building, 59, 66
    since the Cultural Revolution, 68, 73–74, 75
    support to the Third World and wars of national liberation, 9–10, 11, 29–30, 36–39 passim, 44, 47, 53, 61, 62–63, 64, 65, 74, 82
    and the United States, 9, 13, 42, 43–44, 45, 49, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63–64, 74–75, 78–79, 80–81, 97–106
    and the United States force posture in Asia and the Western Pacific, 42, 44, 45, 63–64
    and the use of force, 55–66
    and the USSR, *see* Sino-Soviet conflict
    and Vietnam (1965), 56, 57, 59, 60–61
    see also Taiwan
  ideology, 31, 39; *see also* Maoism
    self-sufficiency and initiative, 21, 22, 90–91, 116
    values, 69, 83–96 passim, 115
  industrialization, 74–75, 87, 108, 115
    compared to other countries, 108–109, 113
    home industry, 91, 93
    Maoist ideology against, 31–32, 114–15
  military defense and weapons, 40–54, 55–66, 103, 105–106, 109–110, *see also* People's Liberation Army
    nuclear, 64, 103–105
  military-industrial complex, 74, 75
  military policy and strategy, 40–54, 77
  People's Liberation Army (PLA), 33, 55–66, 69, 72, 78
  political power, organization, and administration, 5, 9, 10, 14, 40–54 passim, 92–93, 101–102, 109–110
    Central Committee (Ninth), 48, 71–72
    Cultural Revolution Group, 62, 69
    Fourth National People's Congress, 77
    fragmentation since the Cultural Revolution, 67–82
    inner-Party struggles, 47–48, 50, 64, 67–82, 102
    the military and, 33, 41–43, 46–49, 72, 73
    Ninth Party Congress, 68–69, 70, 76
    Party Committees, 49, 71, 72, 73, 76
    Party Military Affairs Committee, 48–49

Politburo (Ninth), 48, 68, 69
provincial leaders, 69–70
radicals, purge of, 43, 69–76, 102
Red Guards, 47, 62, 70, 73, 102
regionalism versus central control, 42, 46–47, 50, 64, 69–70, 72–73
Revolutionary Committees, 49
and revolutionary pragmatism, 70–71
see also Chen Po-ta; Chou En-lai; Lin Piao; Mao Tse-tung; other individual leaders; Chinese Communist Party
society
cadres (responsible persons), 21, 86
character of the people, 83–96 passim
equalization of imbalances in, 21, 23, 69, 70, 71, 76, 79–80, 81, 85, 86, 88–89, 113–14
family structure, 15–25 passim, 92
health and medical care, 88
minorities, 89
old people, 92
structure and changes in, 15–25, 76, 81
women, 85–86, 92–93
society, problems in
drugs, 94–95
mental institutions, 94
political dissidents, 94
and study groups, 95–96
violence and crime, 87
Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 7, 8, 22, 30, 41–43, 48, 67–82, 98
CHINESE HISTORY AND THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY CHINA, Albert Feuerwerker, 1–14
Chinese Nationalists, 52–53, 56, 58, 61, 100, 101
Ch'ing dynasty, 3, 4, 6
Chou En-lai, 33, 36, 59, 69 n. 3, 72–80 passim, 92–93, 100–102, 105
Chou P'ei-yuan, 88–89
Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 93
Communism, international, 5, 9, 10, 38
Confucian ideology, 5, 6
Cultural Revolution, *see* Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

DEGLOPPER, DONALD R., Recent Changes in Chinese Society, 15–25
Democracy, 28
DOMESTIC CONSTRAINTS ON ALTERNATIVE CHINESE MILITARY POLICIES AND STRATEGIES IN THE 1970S, William W. Whitson, 40–54

ECKSTEIN, ALEXANDER, Economic Development Prospects and Problems in China, 107–16
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS IN CHINA, Alexander Eckstein, 107–16
Electric Condenser Steet Factory, 91
Erickson, John, 51–52

Fairbank, John, 2
Fei Hsiao-tung, 89–90
FEUERWERKER, ALBERT, Chinese History and the Foreign Relations of Contemporary China, 1–14
Field, R. M., 111–12
Foreign policy, Chinese, *see* China, People's Republic of—foreign policy
Foreign policy, U.S.
and China, 43–44, 53–54, 56, 65, 84, 97–106; *see also* Nixon, Richard M., visit to Peking
third parties, 103–104
and Japan, 51, 99, 100, 107
and Korea, 100
support of self-determination, 28
and Taiwan and Chinese Nationalists, 63–65, 100–101
and Thailand, 60
and the USSR, 99, 102
and Vietnam, 60–61, 64, 102
Foreign Relations, Council on, U.S., 53

Great Britain
and Hong Kong Crisis (1967), 61–63
economy, compared to China, 108
Great Leap Forward, 9, 14, 31–32, 71, 75, 79, 112, 115–16
Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 9, 14, 21–23, 32, 33, 39, 46, 47–48, 49, 57, 63, 86, 87–88, 90, 102, 112, 115, 116
political trends since, 67–82
Green, Marshall, 101
Guevara, Ernesto (Che), 30
Gurtov, Melvin, 62

HARDING, HARRY, Political Trends in China since the Cultural Revolution, 67–82
Hinton, Harold, 56
Hiss, Alger, 53
Hong Kong Crisis (1967), 57, 61–63
Hsieh, Fu-chih, 69 n. 3

India
economic growth compared to China, 108–109, 113, 114
war with China, 57–59
Indochina War, 44, 66
Industrialization, *see* China, People's Republic of—industrialization

Japan, 6, 7, 8, 44–45, 51, 53, 65, 104–105, 108
Johnson, Lyndon B., 60

K'ang Sheng, 69 n. 3
Khrushchev, Nikita S., 8, 38
Kissinger, Henry, 79, 100
Korean War, 53–54, 57, 59, 75
Kuang-sheng Liao, 58
Kuomintang, 101

Landlords, Chinese, 18, 34
Laos, 59–62

Lattimore, Owen, 51–52
Li Hsien-nien, 69 n. 3
Lin Piao, 10, 11, 12, 29, 30, 33, 38, 48, 51, 68, 69 n. 3, 69, 70, 72–78, 79, 81–82, 102
and "Long Live the Victory of People's War!" 29, 38
"Little red book," 24–25, 72
Liu Shao-chi, 25
Liu, T. C. and K. C. Yeh, 111

Macartney, Lord, 3
McMahon Line, 58
Maoism, 9–10, 13–14, 24, 26–39, 43, 47–48, 53–54, 69, 72, 75, 78, 108, 115
indoctrination and propaganda, 24–25, 35
and labor-work ethic, 88–89, 90–91, 93–94
and revolutionary zeal, 31, 38, 39
in the West, 35–36, 37
as a world force, 26–39
MAOISM AS A WORLD FORCE, John F. Melby, 26–39
Maoist world, defined, 13
Mao Tse-tung, 5, 8–9, 13, 14, 31, 33–34, 38, 39, 43, 47–48, 50, 53, 68, 69 n. 3, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77–78, 81–82, 84, 87, 90, 93, 98–99, 102, 114, 115
succession problem, 77, 81–82, 101–102
see also Maoism
Marxism, 28
Maxwell, Neville
India's China War, 57
May Seventh School, 89
Media, the, and Nixon's visit to Peking, 99
MELBY, JOHN F., Maoism as a World Force, 26–39
MIRSKY, JONATHAN, China after Nixon, 83–96
Mobility, social, in China, 15–25 passim
Moorer, Thomas H., 56

Nationalists, Chinese, *see* Chinese Nationalists
National Minorities Institute, 89
New York Times, 65
Nixon Doctrine, 65, 102
Nixon, Richard M., visit to Peking, 13, 35, 56, 61 n. 22, 65, 73, 77, 79, 80, 84, 97–106
Nuclear power, 89, 103, 104, 105

Peking Review, 65
Pentagon, U.S., 56
Pentagon Papers, The, 58
People's Liberation Army, 33, 55–66, 69, 72, 78; *see also* China, People's Republic of—military defense
Phong Saly, 59–60
POLITICAL TRENDS IN CHINA SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, Harry Harding, 67–82
PYE, LUCIAN W., China and the United States: A New Phase, 97–106

RECENT CHANGES IN CHINESE SOCIETY, Donald R. DeGlopper, 15–25
Red Detachment of Women, 85
Red Guards, 47, 62, 70, 73, 102
Revisionism, 76, 94, 114, 115
Revolution, 30, 68
Robinson, Thomas W., 56

Service, John, 51–52
Shanghai joint communiqué, 3, 79, 100, 101
Sino-Soviet split, 5, 8–9, 31, 38, 42, 43, 44, 49, 51–52, 58, 65–66, 72, 73, 74 77, 78, 79, 94, 102–103, 105, 113, 114–15
Snow, Edgar, 39, 72
Red Star over China, 39
Souvanna Phouma, 66
Soviet Union, *see* USSR; Sino-Soviet split
Spark store and Comrade Sung, 84, 90–91, 92
Stakhanovite movement, 93–94
Stalin and Stalinism, 8, 114–15

Ta-ch'ing oil field, 69
Taiwan, 44, 50, 52–53, 58, 79, 100–101
Thermidorean reaction (to revolution), 68, 72, 76, 81
Third World, *see* China, People's Republic of—foreign policy, support to the Third World
Trade unions, in China, 24–25

United Nations, 44, 82
United States
ignorance of modern China, 84
and Western democratic system, 28, 34, 37
Western Maoists in, 35–36, 37
United States, foreign policy, *see* Foreign policy, U.S.
USE OF FORCE IN FOREIGN POLICY BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE, Allen S. Whiting, 55–66
USSR, 28, 93–94, 102, 103, 114–15; *see also* Sino-Soviet split
Ussuri River, 51

Vietnam, 29, 30, 44, 59–61, 63, 102, 104

Wallace, Henry, 36
Wars of national liberation, *see* China, People's Republic of—foreign policy, support to the Third World
Webster, Norman, 27
WHITING, ALLEN S., The Use of Force in Foreign Policy by the People's Republic of China, 55–66
WHITSON, WILLIAM W., Domestic Constraints on Alternative Chinese Military Policies and Strategies in the 1970s, 40–54
Women, in China, 85–86, 92–93
Wu Wen-tsao, 89

Yalta, 53
Yalu River, 53–54, 57, 59
Yao Wen-yüan, 64, 69 n. 3, 93
Yeh Chien-ying, 69 n. 3
Yeh, K. C., *see* Liu, T. C.
Yenen, 52

VOLUME 403 SEPTEMBER 1972

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy *of* Political
and Social Science

RICHARD D. LAMBERT, *Editor*
ALAN W. HESTON, *Assistant Editor*

THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION

Special Editor of This Volume

DAVID H. BLAKE
Associate Professor
Graduate School of Business and Department of Political Science
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA

© 1972, by THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 72-85688

The articles appearing in THE ANNALS are indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature,* the *Book Review Index,* the *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin,* and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences.* They are also abstracted and indexed in *ABC Pol Sci, Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life.*

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604. Cost per year $12.00 paper-bound; $16.00 clothbound. Second-class postage paid at Lancaster and at additional mailing offices.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE . . . . . *David H. Blake* ix

INTRODUCTION

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF BUSINESS . . . . . *John Fayerweather* 1

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

THE INTERNATIONALIZED CORPORATION: AN EXECUTIVE'S VIEW . . *A. W. Clausen* 12

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, MANAGERS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL IDENTIFICATIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE . . . . . *Bernard Mennis* and *Karl P. Sauvant* 22

TRADE UNIONS AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION . . . . . *David H. Blake* 34

IMPACT ON THE NATION-STATE

INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION AND THE MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISE . . . . . *Jack N. Behrman* 46

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS: A EUROPEAN VIEW . . . . . *Paolo N. Rogers* 58

THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION . . . . . *Richard D. Robinson* 67

CORPORATIONS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS . . . . . *Dennis M. Ray* 80

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION . . . . . *Lawrence B. Krause* 93

THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION AND THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM . . . . . *Chadwick F. Alger* 104

MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISES AND PROSPECTS FOR REGIONAL AND GLOBAL POLITICAL INTEGRATION . . . . . *Joseph S. Nye* 116

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION: AN OVERVIEW AND OBSERVATIONS . . . . . *Robert S. Walters* 127

THIRTY YEARS HENCE

THE MULTINATIONAL FIRM AND THE FUTURE . . . . . *Howard V. Perlmutter* 139

SUPPLEMENT

ECONOMETRICS AND MODEL-BUILDING, 1967–1972 . . . . . *Carl F. Christ* 153

BOOK DEPARTMENT 163

INDEX 241

BOOK DEPARTMENT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CABLE, JAMES. *Gunboat Diplomacy: Political Applications of Limited Naval Force.* Raymond G. O'Connor 163

CALDWELL, LYNTON K. *In Defense of Earth: International Protection of the Biosphere.* D. F. Fleming 164

DIGGINS, JOHN P. *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America.* Richard H. Heindel 165

DORAN, CHARLES F. *The Politics of Assimilation: Hegemony and Its Aftermath.* A. E. Campbell 165

FALK, RICHARD A., ed. *The International Law of Civil War.* Daniel C. Turack 166

KOLKOWICZ, ROMAN, MATTHEW P. GALLAGHER, BENJAMIN S. LAMBETH, with WALTER C. CLEMENS, JR. and PETER W. COLM. *The Soviet Union and Arms Control: A Superpower Dilemma.* A. J. R. Groom 167

NORTHEDGE, F. S. and M. J. GRIEVE. *A Hundred Years of International Relations.* Vincent Davis 168

AFRICA

HOPKINS, RAYMOND F. *Political Roles in a New State: Tanzania's First Decade.* Aidan Southall 169

RANGER, T. O. *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898–1930.* Jeffrey Butler 170

WILSON, CHARLES MORROW. *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm.* James G. Leyburn 171

ASIA

CALDWELL, OLIVER J. *A Secret War: Americans in China, 1944–1945.* Edmund S. Wehrle 172

CHENG, CHU-YUAN. *The Machine-Building Industry in Communist China.* Charles Hoffmann 173

HSIAO, KATHARINE HUANG. *Money and Monetary Policy in Communist China.* Charles Hoffmann 173

JOHNSON, CHALMERS. *Conspiracy at Matsukawa.* Sidney DeVere Brown 174

KOLB, ALBERT. *East Asia—China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam: The Geography of a Cultural Region.* J. B. R. Whitney 175

PAGE

LIEW, K. S. *Struggle for Democracy: Sung Chiao-Jen and the 1911 Chinese Revolution.* Alan P. L. Liu 176

NEILANDS, J. B., G. H. ORIANS, E. W. PFEIFFER, ALJE VENNEMA, and ARTHUR WESTING. *Harvest of Death: Chemical Warfare in Vietnam and Cambodia.* Jeffrey Race 177

PYE, LUCIAN W. *Warlord Politics: Conflict and Coalition in the Modernization of Republican China.* Alan P. L. Liu 176

WILSON, DICK. *The Long March: The Epic of Chinese Communism's Survival.* Paul A. Cohen 178

LATIN AMERICA

AGUILAR, LUIS E. *Cuba 1933: Prologue to Revolution.* James F. Petras 179

ARNOVE, ROBERT F. *Student Alienation: A Venezuelan Study.* James F. Petras ... 182

BONACHEA, ROLANDO E. and NELSON B. VALDES, eds. *Revolutionary Struggle, 1947–1958: The Selected Works of Fidel Castro.* Vol. 1. James F. Petras 179

CARNOY, MARTIN. *Industrialization in a Latin American Market.* Riordan Roett 181

CRASSWELLER, ROBERT D. *The Caribbean Community: Changing Societies and U.S. Policy.* James L. Busey 180

GRUNWALD, JOSEPH, MIGUEL S. WIONCZEK, and MARTIN CARNOY. *Latin American Economic Integration and U.S. Policy.* Riordan Roett 181

MUTCHLER, DAVID E. *The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America: With Particular Reference to Colombia and Chile.* James F. Petras 182

TAYLOR, WILLIAM B. *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca.* Harry Bernstein 183

EUROPE

BARKER, RODNEY. *Education and Politics, 1900–1951: A Study of the Labour Party.* Carl F. Brand 184

BARLOW, FRANK. *Edward the Confessor.* William A. Chaney 185

CARSTEN, F. L. *Revolution in Central Europe, 1918–1919.* Ernst C. Helmreich .. 186

COPPA, FRANK J. *Economics and Politics in the Giolittian Age: Planning, Protectionism, and Politics in Liberal Italy.* Charles F. Delzell 187

GOLAN, GALIA. *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement.* Andrew Gyorgy 188

JANCAR, BARBARA WOLFE. *Czechoslovakia and the Absolute Monopoly of Power: A Study of Political Power in a Communist System.* Andrew Gyorgy 188

KOHL, WILFRID L. *French Nuclear Diplomacy.* Jean Pierre Richert 189

MCCLELLAND, CHARLES E. *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth Century Views.* Dudley W. R. Bahlman 190

PAGE

MILWARD, ALAN S. *The Fascist Economy in Norway.* C. A. Clausen 191

OBOLENSKY, DIMITRI. *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453.* Richard A. Pierce 191

REMINGTON, ROBIN ALISON. *The Warsaw Pact: Case Studies in Communist Conflict Resolution.* Leonas Sabaliunas 192

ROTHBERG, ABRAHAM. *The Heirs of Stalin: Dissidence and the Soviet Regime, 1953–1970.* A. O. Sarkissian 193

SCHALK, ADOLPH. *The Germans.* Peter H. Merkl 193

WALKER, MACK. *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648–1871.* Robert Scharf 194

UNITED STATES

ALEXANDER, THOMAS B. and RICHARD E. BERINGER. *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influences of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861–1865.* T. Harry Williams 195

BROWN, STUART GERRY. *The Presidency on Trial: Robert Kennedy's 1968 Campaign and Afterwards.* Joseph P. Nyitray 196

DANIELS, ROGER. *The Bonus March: An Episode of the Great Depression.* Robert E. Burke 196

DAVID, PAUL T. *Party Strength in the United States, 1872–1970.* Robert K. Murray 197

HOLL, JACK M. *Juvenile Reform in the Progressive Era: William R. George and the Junior Republic Movement.* Walter A. Friedlander 198

LEVIN, MURRAY B. *Political Hysteria in America: The Democratic Capacity for Repression.* Thomas Ford Hoult 199

LIPPMAN, THEO, JR. *Spiro Agnew's America: The Vice President and the Politics of Suburbia.* Rowland Egger 200

MCCRAW, THOMAS K. *TVA and the Power Fight, 1933–1939.* Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. 201

MARBUT, F. B. *News from the Capital: The Story of Washington Reporting.* William E. Ames 202

MORGAN, DAVID. *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America.* Stuart Gerry Brown 202

ROSENBLOOM, DAVID H. *Federal Service and the Constitution: The Development of the Public Employment Relationship.* Phillip Monypenny 203

SMELSER, MARSHALL. *The Winning of Independence.* Ralph Adams Brown 204

TARR, JOEL ARTHUR. *A Study in Boss Politics: William Lorimer of Chicago.* Jennings B. Sanders 204

PAGE

TAYLOR, GENERAL MAXWELL D. *Swords and Plowshares.* George Osborn 205

TUCKER, ROBERT W. *The Radical Left and American Foreign Policy.* Staughton Lynd 207

WESTON, RUBIN FRANCIS. *Racism in U.S. Imperialism: The Influence of Racial Assumptions on American Foreign Policy, 1893–1946.* Jack Temple Kirby ... 208

SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS

BURCH, WILLIAM R., JR. *Daydreams and Nightmares: A Sociological Essay on the American Environment.* Eugene V. Schneider 209

CANCIAN, FRANK. *Change and Uncertainty in a Peasant Economy: The Maya Corn Farmers of Zinacantan.* Fred D. Miller 210

CANTOR, MURIEL G. *The Hollywood TV Producer: His Work and His Audience.* Robert C. O'Hara 211

CONNELL, R. W. *The Child's Construction of Politics.* Herbert Hirsch 212

DERTHICK, MARTHA. *New Towns Intown: Why a Federal Program Failed.* Jon Van Til 213

EDGAR, RICHARD E. *Urban Power and Social Welfare: Corporate Influence in an American City.* Ronald O. Loveridge 214

ELLIS, ALBERT and JOHN M. GULLO. *Murder and Assassination.* Walter C. Reckless 215

KAUTSKY, JOHN H. *The Political Consequences of Modernization.* Oleg Zinam ... 216

KRAUSE, HARRY D. *Illegitimacy: Law and Social Policy.* Robert and Barbara Fishman 217

LANTZ, HERMAN R. *A Community in Search of Itself: A Case History of Cairo, Illinois.* Joel A. Tarr 218

MARSHALL, DALE ROGERS. *The Politics of Participation in Poverty: A Case Study of the Board of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Greater Los Angeles.* Francis G. Caro 219

PLATT, ANTHONY M., ed. *The Politics of Riot Commissions.* Allen D. Grimshaw 220

RAINS, PRUDENCE MORS. *Becoming an Unwed Mother: A Sociological Account.* Robert and Barbara Fishman 217

SALTMAN, JULIER Z. *Open Housing as a Social Movement: Challenge, Conflict, and Change.* Carolyn Zeleny 221

STEINER, GEORGE. *In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes toward the Re-definition of Culture.* Malcolm Bradbury 222

THOMAS, ALEXANDER and SAMUEL SILLEN. *Racism and Psychiatry.* Oscar Glantz 223

PAGE

ECONOMICS

DAVIS, FRANK G. *The Economics of Black Community Development: An Analysis and Program for Autonomous Growth and Development.* Mark R. Killingsworth 225

HANDLER, JOEL F. and ELLEN JANE HOLLINGSWORTH. *The "Deserving Poor": A Study of Welfare Administration.* Mark R. Killingsworth 225

MACE, MYLES L. *Directors: Myth and Reality.* Horace M. Gray 226

NADEL, MARK V. *The Politics of Consumer Protection.* Edward L. Bernays 226

SAMORA, JULIAN, with the assistance of JORGE A. BUSTAMENTE and GILBERT CARDENAS. *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story.* John Caughey 227

STANLEY, DAVID T. *Managing Local Government under Pressure.* Richard D. Feld 230

TUMA, ELIAS H. *Economic History and the Social Sciences: Problems of Methodology.* Robert V. Eagly 228

ULMAN, LLOYD and ROBERT J. FLANAGAN. *Wage Restraint: A Study of Income Policies in Western Europe.* Solomon Barkin 228

WELLINGTON, HARRY H. and RALPH K. WINTER, JR. *The Unions and the Cities.* Richard D. Feld 230

INDEX

INDEX

ALGER, CHADWICK F., The Multinational Corporation and the Future International System, 104–15
Andean Common Market, 105, 134
Andean Group, 47, 52–53
Andean Pact, 53, 75
Antitrust legislation, 130, 138, 148
  U.S., 63, 148

Bachrach, Peter, 82
Ball, George, 109–10, 135
Baratz, Morton S., 82
Barnet, Richard J., 88
Bauer, Raymond A., 90
Behrman, Jack N., 3
BEHRMAN, JACK N., Industrial Integration and the Multinational Enterprise, 46–57
Belgium, and the multinational corporation, 50
Benedict, Daniel, 147
BLAKE, DAVID H., Preface, ix–x; Trade Unions and the Challenge of the Multinational Corporation, 34–45
Blough, Roger, 107
Blough, Roy, 105
Bonilla, Frank, 90–91
Bruck, J. K., 2
Burke-Hartke bill, 39
Business and businessmen, U.S., and American foreign policy, 80–92
Business Week, 17–18, 149

Canada, and the multinational corporation, 10, 111, 126
Cannon, Warren M., 108
Capital, transmission of, 4
Central American Common Market, 52–53, 105, 120
CHRIST, CARL F., Econometrics and Model-Building, 1967–1972, 153–62
CLAUSEN, A. W., The Internationalized Corporation: An Executive's View, 12–21
Clavo Doctrine, 111
Cohen, Bernard C., 81, 90–91
Common markets, *see* Andean Common Market, Central American Common Market, European Common Market, European Economic Community, Latin American Free Trade Association, Integration
Corporations
  multinational, *see* Multinational corporation
  U.S. national, 94–95
CORPORATIONS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, Dennis M. Ray, 80–92
Cox, Robert W., 109, 113–14, 126, 131
Culture, defined, 69

Developing countries, 67–79; *see also* Multinational corporation, and less developed countries
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION, THE, Richard D. Robinson, 67–79
Dexter, Lewis, 90
Domhoff, G. William, 87–88 n. 13
Dunn, W. N., 109

ECONOMETRICS AND MODEL-BUILDING, 1967–1972, Carl F. Christ, 153–62
Emery, F. E., 148
Employment, 35–36, 38
Environmental analysis, 76
European Common Market, 49–50
European Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ECFTU), 41
European Economic Community (EEC), 25, 27, 28–29, 30, 32, 41–42, 47, 50, 59, 60, 61, 66, 140, 148
European Metalworkers Federation (EMF), 41–42
Evans, Peter B., 112
Exports, imports, and the multinational corporation, 49, 52, 95, 133

FAYERWEATHER, JOHN, The Internationalization of Business, 1–11
Feld, Werner J., 26 n. 11
Finance, internationization of, 16–17, 21, 37
Financial Times, 147
Foreign policymaking, U.S., and corporate influence, 80–92, Table 1, 85, 128, 130–31
Foreign relations, U.S., and the multinational corporation, 80–92 passim, Figure 1, 83
Forrestal, James F., 92
France, and the multinational corporation, 50, 60
Fuggers, 13–14

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 50, 110, 136
General Motors, 3
Geocentric ideology, 150–51
Germany, and the multinational corporation, 50, 51

Gilpin, Robert, 105
Global functional organizations, 105, 113
Global and regional industrial systems, 139–152 passim, Figure 1, 142, Figure 2, 143
Global systems, educational, social, urban, 149–50
Goldberg, Paul M., 110, 135, 136
Great Britain, and the multinational corporation, 49, 60, 66
Guetzkow, Harold, 23, 24

Halperin, Morton, 86
Haskins, Caryl P., 21
Heilbroner, Robert, 121
Hickenlooper Amendment, 111
Human rights, 150–51
Hymer, Stephen, 108, 109, 123, 124

Ideology
  geocentric, 150–51
  and resource allocation, 70
India, and the multinational corporation, 74 n. 2
Indonesia, and the multinational corporation, 74 n. 2
Industrial integration, 46–57
INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION AND THE MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISE, Jack N. Behrman, 46–57
Integration
  defined, 117–19
  global, industrial, political, and regional, *see* Multinational corporation, and integration
Interest-group theory, 89–91
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), 130, 132
International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), 130–131
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), 42, 131
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION, THE, Lawrence B. Krause, 93–103
International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Union (ICF), 43, 131
INTERNATIONALIZATION OF BUSINESS, THE, John Fayerweather, 1–11
INTERNATIONALIZED CORPORATION: AN EXECUTIVE'S VIEW, THE, A. W. Clausen, 12–21
International Labor Organization (ILO), 110, 114, 131
International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF), 43, 44, 131
International organizations, 127–38
  nongovernmental, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 115, 127–38 passim
  see also Multinational corporation, international regulation and control of
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION: AN OVERVIEW AND OBSERVATIONS, Robert S. Walters, 127–38
International Trade Secretariats (ITS), 42–44, 131
International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF), 43, 44, 147
Investments
  in the international bond market, 99–100
  in short-term capital market, 100, 101
  private foreign, 130, 133, 134
  returns on, 73–74, 134
Investments, European, 59, 63, 66
Investments, foreign
  European reaction to, 59, 60, 61
Investments, U.S., 2, 58–66, 95
  and foreign relations, 83–84

Jacob, Philip, 118–19
Jacobson, Harold, 138
Jacoby, Neil H., 107
Japan, and the multinational corporation, 10–11, 19, 47, 96, 99, 108, 146

Key, V. O., 89
Kindleberger, Charles P., 110, 124, 135–36
Kolko, Gabriel, 90
Kraft, Joseph, 86, 87
Krause, Lawrence B., 122
KRAUSE, LAWRENCE B., The International Economic System and the Multinational Corporation, 93–103

Labor and labor unions, *see* Multinational corporation, trade and labor unions
Latin America, and the multinational corporation, 7, 47, 49, 52–54, 105, 113, 120, 128, 132
Latin American common markets, 52–54
Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), 7, 47, 52–53
Lazar, Arpad von, 113
Lees, F. A., 2
Levinson, Charles, 147
Levitt, Kari, 128
Lindberg, Leon, 119
Luxembourg, and the multinational corporation, 129

McClay, John J., 87
McLellan, David S., 88
Maier, Heribert, 110, 114
Management, *see* Multinational corporation, management
Managers, *see* Multinational corporation, managers
Marketing, 17, 125
Marxists, American, 81

MENNIS, BERNARD, and KARL P. SAUVANT, Multinational Corporations, Managers, and the Development of Regional Identifications in Western Europe, 22–33
Mexico, and the multinational corporation, 47
Monetary system, international, 100
Multinational corporation
and advanced industrial states, 7, 38, 128–32, 137–38, Figure 1, 142, 144, 145
and American foreign policy and decision-making, 80–92, 128, 130–31
characteristics, size, and scale of, 3, 5, 36–37, 62, 64, 66, 96, 109, 117, 129, 140
definitions and classifications of, 2–3, 14, 23, 76, 94, 96, 119–20, 125
and developed (richer) countries, *see* Multinational corporation and advanced industrial states
development and evolution
implications for the future, 9–10, 20–21, 66, 76–79, 108–109, 117, 137–138, 146–47, 150–51
progenitors, 13–14
stages of, 2, 5, 10, 13, 76, 94, 109, 125, 140, 141, 148
in Europe, 49–52, 58–66
European firms, 10–11, 52, 58–66, 108, 137
and global orientation, rationalization, and economic optimization, 2, 4, 6–8, 71, 72, 129, 140
and integration
global, 95–96, 99–103 passim, 122–26, 139–52 passim
industrial, 46–57, 61, 66, 139–52 passim
political, 116–26
regional, 22–33 passim, 46–57 passim, 105, 113, 116–126 passim, 141, 146; *see also* Common markets
and the international economic system, 93–103, 127–38 passim
international regulation and control of, 11, 56, 65, 78–79, 103, 109–112, 127–138, Figure 1, 142, 144–45
division of economic gains, 102, 127–38 passim, 144; *see also* Rich-poor gap, Wealth, distribution of
intergovernmental agencies and cooperation, 105, 115, 120, 143–44, 145
international monetary system, 65–66, 101, 103
and legitimacy, accountability, competancy, 144–46, 150–51
and overlapping jurisdictions and legislation, 65, 129–38 passim
proposals for, 56, 109–11, 134–38
protection of competition, 97, 98, 101–102, 135, 148
see also individual international agencies and organizations
and the international system, future of, 104–115
investments, *see* Investments
and less developed (poorer) countries, 7, 53, 55–56, 69, 72–73, 77, 104–115 passim, 121–22, 125, 126, 128, 130, 132–35, 140, Figure 1, 142, 143, 145
management, 14–15, 76, 77
union relations with, 36, 37, 40, 41–42
and managerial power, maximization of, 71, 75–76
and managerial skills, 4, 14, 15
managers, 22–33, 101
attitudes toward regional integration, 24–32, Table 3, 29
career success and promotions of, 26, Table 4, 30, 32
external interest of, 24–32, Table 1, 27, Table 2, 28, Table 3, 29
national involvement and identification of, 23–24, 25, Table 2, 28, 31–32
and recommended corporate policies, 26–27
and national governments, 18–19, 47, 48, 55–56, 64, 77, 78, 100, 101–102, 125; *see also* Multinational corporation and less developed countries
conflicts, 19–20, 49, 128, 129, 135
of host nations, 6, 8, 18–19, 40, 48–49, 55, 58–66, 70, 73, 74, 75, 129, 130, 131, 133; *see also* specific countries, Nationalism, Nation-states
of parent nations, 18–19, 58–66, 111, 128, 129, 141; *see also* specific nations, Multinational corporation and trade and labor unions
and nationalism and the nation-state, *see* Nationalism, Nation-states
non-U.S. firms, 20, 63, 96, 137
ownership and control of (types, systems), 8–9, 15–16, 18–19, 65, 71, 73–77, 102, 111, 134, 141, 151
problems posed by and opposition to, 62, 97–100, 109, 127–38 passim, 145, 152
and research and development (R & D), 7–8, 98, 99
resources of, 14, 17
and allocational priorities, 68–72, 75
transmitted, 3, 4
supporting infrastructures and services, 142, 143, 147
and taxes and taxation, 16, 19, 39, 72, 129–30
and technology, transmission and diffusion of, 3–4, 97–99, 133
and trade and labor unions, 26 n. 9, 34–45, 101, 110, 113–14, 131, 147
cross-national cooperation, 40–42, 44–45

employment and job export, 35–39, 45
of host country, 36–37, 39, 131
international organizations, 42–45, 110, 113–14, 131, 147–48
and management, relations with, 36, 37, 40, 41–42
national, 39–40, 44–45, 147
of parent country, 37–38, 39, 131
regional institutions, European, 41–42, 45
wages, 38, 101
see also, specific labor and trade associations
U.S. firms, 10–14, 19, 49–52, 58–66, 95–96, 108, 111, 128, 136–37
and the U.S. market, 63
MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION AND THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, THE, Chadwick F. Alger, 104–15
MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS: A EUROPEAN VIEW, Paolo N. Rogers, 58–66
MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, MANAGERS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL IDENTIFICATIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE, Bernard Mennis and Karl P. Sauvant, 22–33
Multinational enterprise, *see* Multinational corporation
MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISES AND PROSPECTS FOR REGIONAL AND GLOBAL POLITICAL INTEGRATION, Joseph S. Nye, 116–26
Multinational firm, *see* Multinational corporation
MULTINATIONAL FIRM AND THE FUTURE, THE, Howard V. Perlmutter, 139–52
Mumford, Lewis
Transformations of Man, The, 152

National interest, U.S., 84, 147
Nationalism, national interest, sovereignty, and the multinational corporation, 5–11 passim, 53, 56, 59, 64–65, 68, 70, 71, 100, 144, 148, 149
Nationalization, 145
Nation-states and the multinational corporation, 5–11, 68, 70, 71, 73, 77–78, 105, 109, 113, 114, 117, 122–126 passim, 128, 132, 133, 138, 139–152 passim
elites in and control issues, 8–9, 11
and trade unions, 44, 45
see also Multinational corporation, and national governments
Nation-state system, 105, 106–107, 109, 112, 132
Neo-colonialism, 64, 112
NYE, JOSEPH S., Multinational Enterprises and Prospects for Regional and Global Political Integration, 116–26

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 11, 105, 129–30, 132, 135, 137, 138
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 134

Peace, world, 21, 104–115 passim, 149
Perlmutter, Howard V., 107, 108–109, 110, 111, 124
PERLMUTTER, HOWARD V., The Multinational Firm and the Future, 139–52
Polk, Judd, 2, 20, 108
Pool, Ithiel de Sola, 90
Product-cycle model, 96–97
Production, internationalization of, 37, 54–56, 108
Public opinion, U.S., and corporations, 83–84 n. 5
Purcer-Smith, Gillian, 26 n. 10

RAY, DENNIS M., Corporations and American Foreign Relations, 80–92
Regional groupings, *see* Multinational corporation and integration, regional
Resources, *see* Multinational corporation, resources of
Rich-poor gap
between mass and elites, 125–26
between nations, 104–115 passim, 132, 145, 152
ROBINSON, RICHARD D., The Developing Countries, Development, and the Multinational Corporation, 67–79
ROGERS, PAOLO N., Multinational Corporations: A European View, 58–66
Rowthorn, Robert, 124

St. Gobain, 131
SAUVANT, KARL P., *see* MENNIS, BERNARD, joint author
Servan-Schreiber, Jean Jacques, 2, 120, 128
Simmonds, Kenneth, 108, 124
Steiner, George A., 108
Sunkel, Osvaldo, 132–33
Switzerland, and the multinational corporation, 129, 146

Technology, *see* Multinational corporation and technology
Teune, Henry, 118–19
Third World nations, 108, 132–33, 135, 138
Trade, 52–56 passim, 95, 96
Trade unions, *see* Multinational corporation, trade and labor unions
TRADE UNIONS AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION, David H. Blake, 34–45
Trist, Eric, 148

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 105, 106, 133, 136
United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), 133
United Nations system, 106, 107, 110, 113, 115, 136
Uri, Pierre, 108

Vernon, Raymond, 96, 108, 111, 112, 123

Wages, 38, 101
WALTERS, ROBERT S., International Organizations and the Multinational Corporation: An Overview and Observations, 127–38
Watkins, Melville H., 111
Wealth, distribution of, 145, 151; *see also* Multinational corporation, and less developed countries; Multinational corporation, and advanced industrial countries; Rich-poor gap
Wells, Louis T., 125
Woodhouse, Charles E., 88
Woods, Bretton, 100, 101

VOLUME 404 NOVEMBER 1972

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy *of* Political
and Social Science

RICHARD D. LAMBERT, *Editor*
ALAN W. HESTON, *Assistant Editor*

AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: PROSPECTS AND CHOICES

Special Editor of This Volume
MARVIN BRESSLER
Professor of Sociology
Chairman, Commission on the Future of the College
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

PHILADELPHIA

© 1972, by THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 72-85689

The articles appearing in THE ANNALS are indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, the *Book Review Index*, the *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin*, and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences*. They are also abstracted and indexed in *ABC Pol Sci*, *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604. Cost per year $12.00 paper-bound; $16.00 clothbound. Second-class postage paid at Lancaster and at additional mailing offices.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

CONTENTS

PAGE

A Message from the President . . . . . *Marvin E. Wolfgang* ix

Preface . . . . . *Marvin Bressler* x

AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN COMPARATIVE AND TIME PERSPECTIVE

The Measured Effects of Higher Education . . . . . *Alexander W. Astin* 1

Higher Education in Comparative Perspective . . . . *George Z. F. Bereday* 21

American Higher Education in Historical Perspective . *William W. Brickman* 31

American Higher Education Now and in the Future . . . *Lewis B. Mayhew* 44

AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: RESOURCES AND CONSTRAINTS

The Economics of Higher Education . . . . . *Andre Daniere* 58

Faculty Needs and Resources in American Higher Education . . . . . *Allan M. Cartter* 71

TOWARD A PLURALISTIC SYSTEM IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Pluralism and Diversity in American Higher Education . . *Milton Schwebel* 88

A Letter to Black Educators in Higher Education . . . . . *Preston Wilcox* 101

Women and American Higher Education . . . . . *Pamela Roby* 118

CITIZENSHIP IN THE UNIVERSITY

The Specific Theory of Academic Freedom and the General Issue of Civil Liberties . . . . . *William W. Van Alstyne* 140

Democracy and the Governing of the University . . . *Dennis F. Thompson* 157

Student Unrest in the United States . . . . . *Lewis S. Feuer* 170

REVAMPING AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Liberal Synthesis in American Higher Education . . . *Marvin Bressler* 183

Radical Premises in Collegiate Reform . . . . . *Judson Jerome* 194

Achieving Change in Educational Policy in American Colleges and Universities . . . . . *Dwight R. Ladd* 207

SUPPLEMENT

Developments in Public Administration . . . . . *Dwight Waldo* 217

Letters to the Editor 246

Book Department 255

Index 328

BOOK DEPARTMENT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ALLISON, GRAHAM T. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Crisis.* Roy E. Licklider 255

COFFEY, JOSEPH I. *Strategic Power and National Security.* Bruce Unger 256

RABUSHKA, ALVIN and KENNETH A. SHEPSLE. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability.* James S. Milne 257

SPANIER, JOHN. *Game Nations Play: Analysing International Politics.* John W. Burton, Jr. 257

STRONG, MAJOR GENERAL SIR KENNETH, K. B. E., C.B. *Men of Intelligence: A Study of the Roles and Decisions of Chiefs of Intelligence from World War I to the Present Day.* John G. VanDeusen 258

ASIA

ABUEVA, JOSE VELOSO. *Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography.* David R. Sturtevant 259

ESMAN, MILTON J. *Administration and Development in Malaysia: Institution Building and Reform in a Plural Society.* Robert H. Berkov 260

KOJIMA, KIYOSHI. *Japan and a Pacific Free Trade Area.* Douglas H. Mendel, Jr. 261

MAIR, L. P. *Australia in New Guinea.* Eugene Ogan 262

SHIVELY, DONALD H., ed. *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture.* Barbara Ruch 262

EUROPE

ANSEL, WALTER. *Hitler and the Middle Sea.* Russell F. Weigley 264

DAKIN, DOUGLAS. *The Unification of Greece, 1770–1923.* Harold F. Alderfer ... 265

HAMER, D. A. *Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery: A Study in Leadership and Policy.* Wilbur Devereux Jones 265

PAGE

JACOBSON, JON. *Locarno Diplomacy: Germany and the West, 1925–1929.* Eric Waldman 266

JONES, ANDREW. *The Politics of Reform, 1884.* Wilbur Devereux Jones 265

KELE, MAX H. *Nazis and Workers: National Socialist Appeals to German Labor, 1919–1933.* Murray Edelman 268

NOAKES, JEREMY. *The Nazi Party in Lower Saxony, 1921–1933.* Birdsall S. Viault 268

NOEL, BOADEN. *Urban Policy-making: Influences on County Boroughs in England and Wales.* Frank Bealy 269

SMOLAR, BORIS. *Soviet Jewry: Today and Tomorrow.* William Korey 270

STAVELEY, E. S. *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections.* Arthur R. Hogue 271

SUNY, RONALD GRIGOR. *The Baku Commune, 1917–1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution.* Forrestt A. Miller 272

TOBIAS, HENRY J. *The Jewish Bund in Russia: From Its Origins to 1905.* Ben Halpern 273

LATIN AMERICA

ATKINS, G. POPE and LARMAN C. WILSON. *The United States and the Trujillo Regime.* Willard Barber 274

EALY, LAWRENCE O. *Yanqui Politics and the Isthmian Canal.* Donald Marquand Dozer 274

FEDER, ERNEST. *The Rape of the Peasantry: Latin America's Landholding System.* P. I. Mathew 275

HANNA, ALFRED JACKSON and KATHRYN ABBEY HANNA. *Napoleon III and Mexico: American Triumph over Monarchy.* Paul A. Varg 276

LEVENSTEIN, HARVEY A. *Labor Organizations in the United States and Mexico: A History of Their Relations.* Solomon B. Levine 277

SHARP, DANIEL A., ed. *U.S. Foreign Policy and Peru.* John M. Baines 278

WELLS, ALAN. *Picture-Tube Imperialism? The Impact of U.S. Television on Latin America.* O. Zeller Robertson, Jr. 279

WOLPIN, MILES D. *Cuban Foreign Policy and Chilean Politics.* Lucy C. Behrman 280

PAGE

UNITED STATES

ALBRIGHT, JOSEPH. *What Makes Spiro Run: The Life and Times of Spiro Agnew.* Philip J. Hannon 281

BRANT, IRVING. *Impeachment: Trials and Errors.* Adam C. Breckenridge 282

DOBSON, JOHN M. *Politics in the Gilded Age: A New Perspective on Reform.* Susan M. Hartman. 283

FRIEDMAN, LEON and BURT NEUBORNE. *Unquestioning Obedience to the President.* David Fellman 283

GIBSON, WILLIAM. *American Primitive: The Words of John and Abigail Adams Put into a Sequence for the Theater.* Ralph Adams Brown 284

KIRBY, JACK TEMPLE. *Darkness at the Dawning: Race and Reform in the Progressive South.* M. Elaine Burgess 285

LICKLIDER, ROY E. *The Private Nuclear Strategists.* Alan M. Jones, Jr. 285

LINK, ARTHUR S. et al., eds. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.* Vols. 10–12: 1896–1902. Louis Filler 286

STEDMAN, MURRAY S., JR. *Urban Politics.* Ralph W. Conant 288

STREIKER, LOWELL D. and GERALD S. STROBER. *Religion and the New Majority: Billy Graham, Middle America and the Politics of the 70s.* Philip J. Hannon 281

THORNBROUGH, EMMA LOU. *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist.* Rubin F. Weston 288

TOBEY, RONALD C. *The American Ideology of National Science, 1919–1930.* Harry Alpert 290

POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND LAW

ANASTAPLO, GEORGE. *The Constitutionalist: Notes on the First Amendment.* C. Gordon Post 291

BENVENISTE, GUY. *The Politics of Expertise.* Carl Grafton 292

DESTLER, I. M. *Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy: The Politics of Organizational Reform.* Delmer D. Dunn 292

PAGE

HUNTFORD, ROLAND. *The New Totalitarians.* Benjamin R. Barber 293

MCCLOSKEY, ROBERT G. *The Modern Supreme Court.* Holbert N. Carroll 296

MAYER, MICHAEL F. *Rights of Privacy.* Henry M. Holland, Jr. 295

MEISEL, JOHN. *Working Papers on Canadian Politics.* M. S. Whittington 296

WALTON, HANES, JR. *Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis.* Emma Lou Thornbrough 297

SOCIOLOGY

ABRAHAMSON, BENGT. *Military Professionalization and Political Power.* Moshe Lissak 298

CONNOR, WALTER D. *Deviance in Soviet Society: Crime, Delinquency, and Alcoholism.* Bernice Madison 299

DEMERATH, N. J. III, GERALD MARWELL, MICHAEL T. AIKEN. *Dynamics of Idealism: White Activists in a Black Movement.* Russell Kirk 300

EISSLER, K. R. *Talent and Genius: The Fictitious Case of Tausk Contra Freud.* Morton Levitt 300

HOROWITZ, IRVING LOUIS. *Foundations of Political Sociology.* Thomas R. McFaul 301

KING, RICHARD. *The Party of Eros: Radical Social Thought and the Realm of Freedom.* Joseph Bien 302

MEADOWS, PAUL. *The Many Faces of Change: Explorations in the Theory of Social Change.* Glenn Jacobs 303

ROGLER, LLOYD H. *Migrant in the City: The Life of a Puerto Rican Action Group.* Jon Van Til 304

RUBIN, LILLIAN B. *Busing and Backlash: White against White in an Urban School District.* Norman Lederer 305

ECONOMICS

DOUGLASS, ELISHA P. *The Coming of Age of American Business: Three Centuries of Enterprise, 1600–1900.* Francis J. Munch 306

FRUMAN, WILLIAM E., JR. *The Flight for Competitive Advantage: A Study of the United States Domestic Trunk Air Carriers.* Ronald E. Miller 307

PAGE

ISARD, WALTER et al. *Ecologic-Economic Analysis for Regional Development.* Joseph J. Seneca 308

JACKSON, GORDON. *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History.* Robert Walcott 309

PAGE, MARTIN. *The Yam Factor: And Other Insights into the Lives and Customs and Status Symbols of the Executive Tribes of America.* George Fox Mott ... 310

SAHLINS, MARSHALL. *Stone Age Economics.* George Dalton 311

SCHONBERGER, HOWARD B. *Transportation to the Seaboard: The "Communication Revolution" and American Foreign Policy, 1860–1900.* Richard V. Clemence 312

WARFORD, JEREMY J. *Public Policy toward General Aviation.* Ronald E. Miller .. 307

INDEX

INDEX

Academic freedom, 42, 46, 140–56, 185
ACHIEVING CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, Dwight R. Ladd, 207–16
Addams, Jane, 125–26
Adelson, Joseph, 180
AFRAM, 111
American Association of University Professors, 42, 140–56 passim
  1940 Statement of Principles, 153–55
American Council on Education (ACE), Cooperative Institutional Research Program, 1–20 passim
AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, William W. Brickman, 31–43
AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, Lewis B. Mayhew, 44–57
Anti-intellectualism, 178–79
Antioch College, 95
Aristotle, 159, 161
ASTIN, ALEXANDER W., The Measured Effects of Higher Education, 1–20
Atlanta University, School of Social Work, 107–9
Ayers, Bill, 176

Balderston, T. E., 78, 80
Baraka, Imamu Amiri, 115
Barenblatt v. *United States,* 143
Bartlett, H., 121–22
Baskin, Samuel, 95
Becker, Gary, 60
Ben-David, Joseph, 33, 34
BEREDAY, GEORGE Z. F., Higher Education in Comparative Perspective, 21–30
Berkeley Barb, 176
Berkeley, Study Commission on University Governance, 162
Bernard, Jessie, 134, 135, 138
Birenbaum, William M., 93
Black Educational Viewpoints Network, 111
Black history, 173
Black Muslims, U.S., 104–17 passim
Black nation, nationalism, U.S., 101–17
Black studies programs, 190–91
Blacks, U.S.
  and higher education, 37, 38, 97, 101–17, 182
    organizations, 109–12
  community needs, 101–17 passim
Bloom, Marshall, 171–73
Blue-collar jobs, 128
Bond, Horace Mann, 37
Bookchin, Murray, 202
  Post-Scarcity Anarchism, 197
Boston University News, 172
Boudin, Kathy, 181
Breines, Paul, 178
BRESSLER, MARVIN, Preface, x; The Liberal Synthesis in American Higher Education, 183–93
Brewster, Kingman, Jr., 163
BRICKMAN, WILLIAM W., American Higher Education in Historical Perspective, 31–43
British Open University, 94–95, 98
Brown University, 35, 213
Brubacher, John S., 41
Bryce, James, 124
Buckley, William F., Jr., 185
Busing, 114, 116

Cambodia, 182
Careers
  choice of by students, Table 1, 10, 10–11, 14
  see also Labor force requirements
Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 50, 89, 93, 133
CARTTER, ALLAN M., Faculty Needs and Resources in American Higher Education, 71–87
Caws, Peter, 208
Cheeshahteaumauk, Caleb, 36
Church colleges, 38–39
Churchville, John, 109
City University of New York, 97
Civil liberties, 140–56
Clark, Kenneth, 104, 106
Coeducation, 123–28
College for Human Services, 113
College of Rhode Island, 35
Colonial higher education, U.S., 32, 121
Columbia University
  Hamilton Hall, 106
  School of Social Work, 105–7
  strike-insurrection, 106, 176–77
  student opinion at, 176–77, 182 n. 52
Communes, U.S., communalism, 179
Competition, academic, 135–39
Conservation, *see* Ecology
Conservatives, educational theory of, 184–87
Constitution, U.S., and amendments to, 140–56 passim
Continuing education, for women, 131
Cornford, F.M., 166

Council of Graduate Schools (CGS), 81
Council of Independent Black Institutes, 111
Counter-culture, 179

DANIERE, ANDRE, The Economics of Higher Education, 58–70
Dartmouth College, 37
Decentralization, industrial, 202
Democracy, 157–69
DEMOCRACY AND THE GOVERNING OF THE UNIVERSITY, Dennis F. Thompson, 157–69
Democratic National Convention, Chicago (1968), 175, 178
Developing countries, 59, 63, 199–200
DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, Dwight Waldo, 217–45
Diamond, Stephen, 171–72, 179
Dohrn, Bernadine, 176
Domesticity, 125
Drucker, Peter, 200
Drugs, and student activists, 173–75
Duberman, Martin, 180 n. 48
DuBois, W. E. B., 102–115 passim

Earnings differentials, *see* Income distribution
Ecology, 198–201
Economics and education, relationship between, 118–37 passim
ECONOMICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, THE, Andre Daniere, 58–70
Educational theory, political
  conservative, 184–87
  liberal, 189–93, 196
  radical—Marxist, anarchist, 187–89, 196–206
Education Council, Congress of African People, 111
Education, higher, *see* Higher education; Higher education, U.S.
Education, Office of, U.S., 71–87 passim
Empire State College, 95
Employment
  opportunities, 58–70 passim, 190
  of Ph.D.'s, 71–87 passim
  and radical political theory, 194–206 passim
  and women, 118–37
Endleman, Robert, 180
Epperson v. *Arkansas*, 144
Ethnic differences and income, 58–70 passim
Eurich, Nell, 96
Evolution, theory of, 147
External degree program, 94–96

FACULTY NEEDS AND RESOURCES IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION, Allan M. Cartter, 71–87
Farrakhan, Louis, 104
FEUER, LEWIS S., Student Unrest in the United States, 170–82
First Amendment, *see* Constitution, U.S.
Flexner, Abraham, 40
Forrester, Jay
  World Dynamics, 200
Fourteenth Amendment, *see* Constitution, U.S.
Franklin, Benjamin
  "The Savages of North America," 36–37
Freedom Library Day School, 109
Free speech, 140–56 passim
Friedenberg, Edgar Z., 95

Garvey, Marcus, 105
Gary Convention, 105, 114
Generational conflict, theory of, 180–82
G.I. Bill of Rights, 45
Gouldner, Alvin
  The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology, 197, 202
Graduate education, U.S., 71–87 passim, 98; *see also* Ph.D.'s
"Great Refusal," 198
Green, Edith, 136
Greer, Colin
  The Great School Legend, 200
Griswold v. *Connecticut*, 143
Gross, Bertram, 133
Gross national product (GNP), 59, 61, 200

Haiphong harbor, mining of, 182 n. 52
Hallucinogenic drugs, and student activists, 173–75
Harlan, John Marshall, 38
Harlem, 103, 106
Harman, Willis W., 198–99
Harvard, Indian College at, 36
Hefferlin, JB Lon, 210
Heide, Wilma Scott, 137
Heist, Paul, 93, 98
Henrico College, 35–36
Higher education
  comparative perspective, Canada, Europe, Japan, U.S., USSR, 21–30, 34
    academic recognition, 23, 25–26
    admissions and enrollment, 22–23, 27, 29, 34
    governance, 24–25
    mass versus elitist models, 21–30
    political participation and universities, 27
    reforms, 25–30
HIGHER EDUCATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE, George Z. F. Bereday, 21–30
Higher education, U.S.
  admissions and enrollment, 22–23, 27, 34
    expansion of, 34, 41–42, 45–49, 54, 72, 191; *see also* Blacks, U.S.; Indians, American; Women, U.S.
      to racial minorities, 35–38, 48, 50, 88–100 passim
      to the working-class, 90–91, 94–95
    expected declines in, 75–77, Table 8, 77, 85

attrition rates, 100
coeducation, 123–28
comparative effects of colleges on student behavior and career choice, 1–20, Figures 1–3, Tables 1–7
costs and financing, 46, 49, 50, 58–70, 76, 85–86, 119, 120, 127, 133
and credentialling, 50–51, 55, 194–206
economics of, 58–70, 118–37 passim
functions and purposes of, 53, 90, 91, 98, 100, 157–69; *see also* Educational theory, political
future of, 54–57, 85–87
models proposed, 136–39
governance of the university, 48, 49, 98–99
and achieving change, 207–16 passim
boards of trustees, 157–69 passim
centralization, 51–52, 55
democratic participation, 157–69
liberal views on, 191–92
presidents, college and university, 48, 209
state-wide boards, 51–52, 55
university council/senate, 164–67
the university and society, 167–69
historical overview, 31–43
impact of college on students, measured, 1–20
and income inequalities, 58–70, 118–39
and job upgrading, 62–63, 75–76, 83–84
management, planning, resource deployment, 50–57 passim
open admissions and mass higher education, 21–30 passim, 90–94, 100, 191, 199; *see also* Higher education, U.S., admissions and enrollment
pluralism and diversity in, 23, 25–26, 34–38, 51, 52, 55, 88–100, 191
see also Higher education, U.S., types of institutions and programs; Higher education, U.S., admissions and enrollment, expansion of
policy, achieving change in, 207–16
public opinion toward, 44–57 passim
quality of, 67, 79, 98
reforms and changes, 49, 87–100 passim, 161
conservatives on, 186
grass roots versus guided systems, 28–30
guidelines, 98–100, 207–16
liberal approach, 191
radical approach, 189, 194–206
structural versus curricular, 25–27
trends in industrial countries, 23–26
screening theory of, 61–62, 64
size and growth statistics, 33–34, 54–55
student/staff ratios, 77–79, 85
tuition, 69–70
types of institutions and programs
community colleges, 46
and effects on student behavior, 1–20
external degree program, 94–96
junior (2-year) colleges, 46, 79–80, 92
land-grant institutions, 41, 91
professional schools/studies, 39–41, 212
public versus private, 52, 55–56, 69
university and 4-year, 92–94
work-study (experiential) programs, 95, 96, 204–5
Hiland, John R., 84
Hoffman, Abbie, 175, 176, 177, 179
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 141, 144
Hutchins, Robert Maynard, 40, 185
Huther, John W., 80
Huxley, Thomas Henry, x

Illich, Ivan, 200
Income distribution, equity of, 58–70, 190
between men and women, Table 2, 132, 118–37 passim
India, 63
Indians, American, 35–37
Industrial class, education of, 90–91
Institutions, deinstitutionalization, 194–206
Integration, racial, 101–17 passim
Intelligence, and race, 148

Jencks, Christopher, 209
JEROME, JUDSON, Radical Premises in Collegiate Reform, 194–206
Jews, U.S., 190
Jobs, *see* Employment
Journal of Political Economy, 59

Keniston, Kenneth, 180 n. 48
Kent State University, bloodshed at, 175
Keyishian v. *Board of Regents*, 143
Kidd, Charles V., 81
Klein, T.E.D., 176
Kolko, Gabriel, 120

Labor, Department of, U.S.
projection of Ph.D.'s required in private industry, Table 3, 73, 82–83
Labor force, U.S.
academic, 76–80
Labor force, U.S., requirements
and education, 99
and Ph.D.'s, 71–87
and women, 118–37, Figure 2, 131
LADD, DWIGHT R., Achieving Change in Educational Policy in American Colleges and Universities, 207–16
Land-grant colleges and universities, 41, 91
Larner, Jeremy, 178
Lazarsfeld, Paul, 135
Lerner, Michael, 178
Lester, Julius, 173
LETTER TO BLACK EDUCATORS IN HIGHER Education, A, Preston Wilcox, 101–17

Liberal arts versus professional training, 40
Liberals, educational theory of, 189–93, 196
LIBERAL SYNTHESIS IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION, THE, Marvin Bressler, 183–93
Liberation News Service, 172, 176, 197
Life-style, 181
Lipman, Aaron, 230
Livingston College, Rutgers University, 96
Locke, John, 158
Lovejoy, Arthur, 151
Lowell, Abbott L., 152–53
LSD, *see* Hallucinogenic drugs

McAuliffe v. *Mayor of New Bedford,* 141
Machlup, Fritz, 141–42
MacKillop, Andrew, 202
Malcolm X College, 94
Manhattan Country School, 112
Manson, Charles, 176
Marcuse, Herbert, 178
Marriage and child-rearing, 118–37 passim
Marshall, Kenneth, 106
Martin, Richard, 133
Marx, Marxism, 187, 188
Masculine culture, male socialization, 134–39
Mattfield, Jacquelyn, 213
MAYHEW, LEWIS B., American Higher Education Now and in the Future, 44–57
MEASURED EFFECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, THE, Alexander W. Astin, 1–20
Medsker, Leland L., 94
Michener, James, 175, 181
Middle-class values, 199
Militant, The, 176
Mill, John Stuart, 158, 162, 167–68
Minorities, *see* Higher education, U.S., admissions and enrollments
Mintz, Geraldine R., 135–36
Morehouse College, confrontation at, 110–11
Morrill Act (1890), 38
Morrow, Glenn, 142
Muhammad, Elijah, 104–115 passim
Mumford, Lewis, 197
Mungo, Raymond
  Famous Long Ago, 172, 174, 179, 197
  Total Loss Farm, 197
Murray, Henry A., 180
Murray, Judith, 120–21
Muslims, Black, 104–117 passim

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 114, 115
National Black Political Convention, Gary, Indiana, 105, 114
National Educational Association, 47, 80 n. 13
National Research Council, 81
National Science Foundation (NSF), 80, 81 n. 14, 83
Negro higher education, 38; *see also* Blacks, U.S., and higher education
New Age politics and theory of education, 198–206
NewArk, 115, 117
"New England's First Fruits," 39
New Jersey Education Consortium, 96
New Jersey, two-year colleges in, 92
New Left, the, 170–82
Newman, Frank (and Task Force), 89
New York, external degree programs in, 95
New York Regents, 94
New York Times, 171–82 passim
New York University, 86 n. 19, 168
Nin, Anais, 134–35

Occupations and sex, Table 1, 128
O'Neill, William, 125

Perry v. *Sindermann,* 145
Pfnister, Allen O., 39
Ph.D.'s
  age distribution, Table 6, 74
  as junior college faculty, 79–80
  mortality and retirement rates, 74–75
  nonacademic employment of, 82–84, 86
  output of, past and projected, Table 5, 74, Table 7, 75, Table 9, 81, Figure 2, 82
  oversupply of, 54, 71–87
  stock of in labor force, Table 4, 73, 74, 75
  women, 127, Figure 1, 129, 134
Pickering v. *Board of Education,* 145, 153
PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION, Milton Schwebel, 88–100
Political activity, student, *see* student activists
Political theory, *see* Educational theory, political
Population, birth rates, and college enrollments, 45, 53, Table 1, 72, 76–77, Table 8, 77, 87, 125, 130, 133
Powell, Lewis M., 186
Powers, Thomas, 179
Princeton University, Special Committee on the Structure of the University, 160–61
Prison, 108
Productivity, and education, 58–70 passim
Professors, U.S.
  and academic freedom, 140–56
  age distribution, past and projected, Figure 3, 83, Table 10, 84, 85–87
  aprofessional activities of, 140–56 passim
  and faculty/student relations, 17–19, 99, 138, 160, 166
  of the New Age, 205
  new Ph.D.'s needed, projections, Figure 1, 78, Figure 2, 82
  number of, statistics, 34
  peer group review of, 149

professional standards and integrity, 145–56
research of, *see* Research, and higher education
retirement and replacement rates, 85, 86
salaries of, 86
women compared to men, 118–39 passim
tenure of, 85, 86
unionization of, 55, 216
and university governance, 157–69 passim
women, 118–39 passim
see also Higher education, U.S.; Ph.D.'s
Public Interest, 136
Public opinion, U.S., and higher education, 44–57 passim
Puerto Ricans, 112, 113
Pugliaresi, L., 80

RADICAL PREMISES IN COLLEGIATE REFORM, Judson Jerome, 194–206
Radicals, educational theory of, 187–89, 194–206
Radicals, student, 170–82, 188, 196, 209
Radner, Roy, 78, 80
Research and development
federal funds for universities, 72, Table 3, 73
nonacademic, 76
Research, and higher education, 26–28, 45, 46, 56, 136
Rector, James, 177
Religion, and colonial higher education, U.S., 38–39
Religious behavior/preference of college students, Table 2, 10, 11, Table 6, 12, 15–16
Religious freedom in American universities, 34–35
Rhode Island, religious freedom in, 34–35
Riesman, David, 209
ROBY, PAMELA, Women and American Higher Education, 118–39
Rochdale College, Toronto, 173–74
Rosenbaum, Ron, 174
Rosenfield, Jerry, 177
Ross, Earle D., 41
Rossi, Alice, 132–38 passim
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 163
Rubin, Jerry, 176, 178
Rudd, Mark, 177
Rudy, Willis, 41
Rustin, Bayard, 104

Sack, Saul, 41
Sarason, Seymour B., 92
Says Law, 75
Scheer, Robert, 178
Schein, Edgar, 212
SCHWEBEL, MILTON, Pluralism and Diversity in American Higher Education, 88–100
Schwenkmeyer, Barry, 96
Scopes v. *State*, 141
Seminaries, for women, 122
Sexism, 134
Shavely, Guy E., 39
Shelton v. *Tucker*, 144
Simmons, Adelle, 125
Slater, Philip, 201
Social mobility, 66–67
Social problems, and higher education, 47
SPECIFIC THEORY OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND THE GENERAL ISSUE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES, THE, William W. Van Alstyne, 140–56
Spencer, Herbert, 184, 187
Standard of living, 200
Starobin, Robert, 173
State University of New York (SUNY), 95, 96, 97
Strikes, student, *see* Student activists
Student activists, radicals, movements, 161–62, 170–82, 188, 196, 209
Students, U.S., in higher education
impact of college, measured, 1–20
loans and scholarships, 14, 69–70
numbers of, 34
and university governance, 99, 157–69 passim, 209
see also Higher education, U.S.
STUDENT UNREST IN THE UNITED STATES, Lewis S. Feuer, 170–82
Suicide, among student radicals, 171–73
Supreme Court, U.S., 140–56 passim
Swarthmore College, 211–12, 214
Sweezy v. *New Hampshire*, 143

Teachers, *see* Professors, U.S.
Teachers, common school, 121–22
Tewksbury, Donald G., 38–39
Textile industry, 121
Third World, the, 199–200
THOMPSON, DENNIS F., Democracy and the Governing of the University, 157–69
Tillery, Dale, 94
Tinker v. *Des Moines School District*, 144
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 162
Trow, Martin, 90
Turner, Jonathan Baldwin, 90–91
Tuskegee Institute, 108, 115

Uncle Tomming, 103–4
Unemployment, rates of, 130, 133; *see also* Employment
Union for Experimental Colleges and Universities, 95, 96, 98
Union Graduate School, 98
University of Cincinnati, 95
University of Oklahoma, 94
University of Wisconsin, 123
University Without Walls (UWW), 95

Urban League-ites, 114
Utopia, 199, 201–2

VAN ALSTYNE, WILLIAM W., The Specific Theory of Academic Freedom and the General Issue of Civil Liberties, 140–56
Vassar College, 125 n. 30
Veterans, U.S., WW II, 45
Vietnam War, and student unrest, 182

WALDO, DWIGHT, Developments in Public Administration, 217–45
Wall Street Journal, 133
Washington, Booker T., 102, 105, 108, 115
Weathermen, the, 176
Weaver, Warren, 130–31
"Whiteamerica," 101–17
White-collar jobs, 127–28
Whitehill v. *Elkins,* 144
Wieman v. *Updegraff,* 143
WILCOX, PRESTON, A Letter to Black Educators in Higher Education, 101–17
Williams, George, 135, 136
Wilson, Logan, 93
Wolff, Robert Paul, 159
WOMEN AND AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION, Pamela Roby, 118–39
Women's Movement and organizations, 134–39 passim
Women, U.S.
  and higher education, 34, 41, 97, 118–39
  employment and salaries of, 118–39
Woody, Thomas, 118–39 passim

Yale University
  faculty report, 40
  Study Commission on Governance, 165
Young, the, de-authorization of, 175